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Main works-

A saga of Sacrifices: Praja Parishad Movement in J&K

100 Documents: A reference book J&K, Mission Accomplished

A Compendium of Icons of Jammu & Kashmir & our Inspiration (English)

Jammu Kashmir ki Sangarsh Gatha (Hindi)

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Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State
During Hundred years of Dogra Rule

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*~~BY DR. SHEETAL GUPTA~~
*by Dr. (Mrs.) Sheetal Gupta

"Kashmir was ancient times a great centre of Education which attracted people from all parts of India. But her glory was short-lived..."

Kashmir has seen many masters with a few solitary examples, all others exploited its people. However, the Afgan conquest of Kashmir during the eighteenth century had reduced its people's existence to a deplorable plight. The sikhs who succeeded the Afghans were no less tyrannical and cruel. Never before Dogras, there was any scheme of educating the common people in the state. However, Manaraja Gulab Singh was not a reformer but a founder. Having obtained his kingdom most of his time was devoted towards the consolidation and building up of his new empire and the present Jammu and Kashmir state is said to be his "monument". He had hardly any time left for bringing about educational reforms, though he made a few changes. "Gadadhar Pathshala" was started by him in 1841.

In Kashmir, on the other hand, the pioneer work in the field of Education was done by missionaries. Rev. R.Clark and Col. Martin came there as early as 1854 to reconnoitre the field by Christian missionary activity. Maharaja Gulab Singh allowed the missionaries to preach in Kashmir because perhaps he felt that the 'padres' could do no harm to the people and he was curious if they could do them any good.

The brightest chapter in the history of eventful Dogra rule is provided during the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

*M.A. (Sanskrit), M.Ed., Ph.D. (Education),
Education Department of J&K State, Jammu-1.

who succeeded his father Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1857. Beside being an able administrator and a noble king, he was also a great scholar of Sanskrit and Persian and a renowned patron of learning. During his regime the state government assumed the positive responsibility of educating the people of the state on the modern lines. Soon after his accession to the throne, he constructed the Raghunath Temple at Jammu which became the biggest seat of learning and research. Attached to the temple was a Sanskrit Pathshala or a college and library containing some of the rare Sanskrit manuscripts collected during his period.

Sanskrit pathshalas were also established at Purmandal and Utter Behni in Jammu province. At all these pathshalas the students were not only provided with free food and milk but the books and stationary were also made available to them free of charges by debit to the fund which the Maharaja endowed for the purpose. Provisions were also made for scholarships to deserving students for higher studies at Benaras and other universities. The Maharaja also founded a Sanskrit pathshala at Benaras.

The liberal patronage exercised by the Maharaja attracted a large number of learned men to Jammu from all over India. The Sanskrit scholars included Pt. Prijlal from Jaipur, Pt. Rasmohan Bhattacharya from Bengal, Pt. Viyasa from Patiala and Pt. Dillaran Chikatsaka. The activities of the Raghunath Library and Research Institute were soon extended to the field of Persian, Punjabi, Hindi and Dogri literature. Among Persian scholars were Divankirpa Ram, the author of Gulabnama and Khalifa Noor-ul-Din.

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Raghunath Temple Library. Besides, a collection of about 700 manuscripts, some of them printed, was preserved in the Sri Ranbir Public Library at Jammu. The latter have now been removed and added to the collections of the newly created research and publication department for further research work".

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was the first to introduce Sanskrit and Hindi words for military drill. He got prepared a book on Military Science in Devnagri Script, the original manuscript of which is lying in the library of the Research and Publication Department of the state. As the Dogri alphabet, in its old form, not easy to read accurately or quickly, Maharaja caused to be invented a modification of it. Thus bringing them nearer to Devnagri.

Maharaja was the first to contribute a handsome donation Rs.62,500 towards the establishment of the university of the Punjab (and his name is found on the records of the University as its first Fellow) for which, he was nominated as one of its fellow.

It was during his reign that missionaries started their educational work in the state. The Mission School, known as Tyndale Biscoe School to day, was established by Rex J.S. Doxey in 1881 and was the first to follow the University Syllabus.

Never before the reign of the Maharaja Partap Singh, who succeeded Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1885 and who ruled over the state till 1925, was any scheme of educating the common people put into practice, either in Kashmir proper or in the Jammu province.. He raised the status of the institutions to a regular school introducing English teaching and imparting Education according to the University Curriculum. In 1901

THE UNIVERSITY REVIEW

JAMMU UNIVERSITY RESEARCH JOURNAL
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Vol. VI

AUGUST 1988

OFF PRINT



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Twenty One

SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS KASHMIR ISSUE TILL TASHKENT AGREEMENT

By Dr. Vidya Bhushan

Kashmir is not a merely a geographical expression in the North-west of the Vast Sub-continent of India, famed for its beauty and natural wealth, but it is a land strategically situated and a connecting link for many great empires. Its borders touching, as they do, the territories of Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Tibet and Afghanistan¹, have an international significance. It also occupies a strategic position from military stand point and that of foreign affairs. Nations interested in 'Big Powers' struggle can see Kashmir primarily as the pivotal centre of military strategy in this part of the world². This is why it has become a pawn in the game of international politics. That it has given rise to the fast developing collaboration of Pakistan and China, on one hand, and the Pak-collaboration in the global plans of American policy and military stracegy on the other³.

Kashmir, therefore, has been a constant concern of the Kremlin since the days of Lenin, who wanted to see peace in the areas bordering the Soviet Union⁴.

Soviet Union, however, has shown great interests and has been actually involved in Kashmir since world war II. Her Leaders-Josef Stalin, Nakila

1. Koul, P. N., and Dhar, K. L. *Kashmir Speeks* Luzac & Co Russel Streets, London, 1928, p. 1.
2. *The Free Press Journal*, May 28th 1953.
3. Bhushan, Dr. Vidya : *State Politics and Government ; Jammu and Kashmir Jay Kay Book House*, Jammu, 1985, p. 5.
4. Naik, J. A. : *Soviet Policy towards India*. Vikas Publication Delhi, 1979, p. 91.

Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev and Kosygin, through looked at Kashmir an important strategic area and an object of foreign policy interest pursued a different course⁵. The Soviet policy on Kashmir, thus, did reveal consistency and her stand varied from time to time.

Soviet leaders have generally favoured the right of self-determination on the part of the multi-national and the pluralistic societies as they began to emerge as independent states in South East Asia⁶. Perhaps because of this they favoured of granting the right of self-determination to the people of Kashmir⁷. One eversion is that Prominent Moscow trained workers were the first who injected the germs of the fancy of an independent Kashmir into the body politic of *Kashmir*⁸. Referring to the demand of independence they pointed out that '*if reflects the innermost desire of the Kashmiri people and is made with the intention of galvanising them once again.*'⁹ They also said to be responsible in splitting up of our nationalism into 'Indians' and Kashmiri and kept the two as mutually distinct and irreconciable as possible¹⁰. Mr. O. Orestov in his article "The war in Kashmir" published, in Moscow Weekly "New Times", pointed out "*people of Kashmir faced two enemies; the force of intervention which had invaded their territory and the Indian reactionaries*" "He warned "*It was in the interests of Indian reactionaries "that Kashmir remains occupied by the Indian troops.*" While referring to Sheikh Abdullah's Govt. he deplored that *it had proved impotent in the face of the Indian reactionaries.*"¹¹ They later on supported the special status of Kashmir to enable the people to fight imperialism and facilitating the abolition of land-lordism and monarchy, and remaining free from interference of President of India¹².

Even at Security council the soviet representatives had shown indifference to Kashmir issue. Throughout 1948. When Kashmir dominated the preceedings of security council for more than six months, Soviet delegates never spoke on the issue in dispute¹³. His behaviour was one of uninterested observers who had nothing to

5. Ray, Hemen : *How Moscow Sees Kashmir*, Jaico Publishing House Delhi 1985, Preface.
6. Jain, J. P. *Soviet Policy towards Pakistan and Bangladesh*, Radient Publisher New Delhi. 1974, p 127.
7. Nizami, Tanuq Ahmed : *The Communist Party and Indian Foreign Policy* , New Delhi, 1971, p. 51.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
9. *The Communist Role in Kashmir*, an article of A. G. Moorani Indian Express, July 14. 1970.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Nizami, Tanuq Ahmed : *Communist Party and India's Foreign Policy*, op. cit., p. 167.
13. Naik, J. A. : *Soviet Policy Towards India*, op. cit., p. 53.

say on the question under discussion¹⁴. This was particularly because Stalin continued to regard New Delhi as an appendage of Anglo-American imperialism¹⁵, and Soviet non-approval of India's policy of non-alienment in the context of the cold war rivalry between, the then, two superpowers¹⁶. Moscow perceived India's non-alignment policy along the line of the maxim that "if you are not with us, you are against us."¹⁷

However, in the early fifties on the imperialist's designs over Kashmir, Pakistan unhesitatingly liningly lining up with the United States and its allies against Soviet Union¹⁸ and subsequently signing SEATO and Baghdad Pacts¹⁹ and India's refusal to sign a Japan Peace Treaty in San Francisco²⁰, began to have their influence on the Soviet Policy. Soviet Union had since then given its support to the legal finality of the Kashmir's accession to India²¹. They then began to deprecate any talk of an independent Kashmir as would bound to make the Indo-Pak sub-continent a play-field of the imperial machination and stood solitary behind the permanent nature of the special status of the state in the terms of Act. 370²². At security council also the Soviet representative Jacob Malik started attacking and strongly accusing U.S.A. and G. B. for their persistent interference in Kashmir for ulterior motives, condemned Pakistan for its aggression in Kashmir and held them responsible for the failure of the U. N. to solve the Kashmir Problem²³. Malik's speech in Security Council, for the first time broken the long held Soviet Silence and indicated a change of Soviet attitude towards Kashmir.

The death of Stalin in March 1953 brought further changes in the Soviet policy towards India in general and Kashmir in particular. Moscow welcomed Sheikh Abdullah's removal as the P. M. of Kashmir in August, 1953²⁴.

14. Ibid., p. 54.
15. Kay, Hemen : *How Moscow Sees Kashmir*, op. cit., p. 17.
16. Kapur, Harish, *The Soviet Union and the Emerging Nations*, Michael Joseph Ltd. ; Geneva 1971, p. 25.
17. Remnek, Richard, B : *Soviet Policy Towards India*, Oxford New Delhi, 1975, pp. 6-7.
18. Jain, J. P. : *Soviet Policy Towards Pakistan and Bangladesh*, Radiant Publishers New Delhi, 1974, pp. 16-17.
19. Ibid, p. 17.
20. Remnek, Richard : *Soviet Policy Towards India*, op. cit., p. 9.
21. Bhushan Vidya : *State Political and Govt. Jammu and Kashmir*, op. cit., p.
22. Ibid.
23. Prasad, Bimal : *Indo-Soviet Relations 1947-1972*, Allied Publishers New Delhi, 1973, p. 55.
- 24.

During their tour to India in 1955 Nikita Khruschchev and Nikolai Bulganin visited Kashmir. Comrade Khrushchev declared that, "*the question of Kashmir has been settled by the people of Kashmir.*" He, therefore, stressed that the Soviet position in regard to Kashmir was clear and precise that *Kashmir is one of the states of the Indian Republic*" He further added that the question of Kashmir as one of the state of Republic of India had been settled by the people of Kashmir themselves²⁵. At a press conference in New Delhi Comrade Khruschchev and Comrad Bulganin described Kashmir as part and parcel of India and declared "*as far as is concerned we witness in Kashmir with deep joy that the people of Kashmir appreciated its national liberation considering its territory as an integral part of the Republic of India, "They are non-striving to build in the fraternal family of Indian people.*"²⁶

In March, 1966 Anarta Mikoyan in his visit to India declared that Soviet Union regarded Kashmir as part of India. At Karachi he declared that the future of Kashmir was "*not for us to decide. This is for the people of Kashmir to decide.*"²⁷

Consequently, when the Kashmir question again came before the Security Council in Feb. 1956, the Soviet attitude was on total opposition to U. N. resolution and of complete support to Indian position. Soviet representative comrade Sobolev pointed out that vital changes took place in Kashmir since 1948. It would be suicidal to ignore these changes. Holding a plebiscite in Kashmir with outside interference in one form or another would serve only to excite local conflicts and to complicate the international situation in that area²⁸. The Soviet Union not only strongly criticised the five powers draft resolution for demilitarization of Kashmir in 1957 but vetoed it²⁹. In march, 1959 a Soviet delegation led by A. Andreev visited Kashmir and reiterated the Soviet stand on Kashmir being integral part of India. He declared, "*In your struggle we are your comrades.*"³⁰ Kruschchev again reiterated the Soviet support to the Indian policy in Kashmir when Karan Singh visited U.S.S.R. in April, 1959³¹. In 1962, when Pakistan again tried to bring the Kashmir issue

25. Naik, J. A. : Soviet Policy Towards India, op. cit., p. 91.

26. Kaushik, Devendra : Soviet Relations with India and Pakistan Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd. ; Delhi 1972, p. 61.

27. Ray Hemen : How Moscow Sees Kashmir, op. cit., p. 40.

28. Kaushik Devendra : Soviet Relations with India and Pakistan, op. cit., pp. 146, 173.

29. Kaushik, Devendra : Soviet Relation with India and Pakistan, op. cit., pp. 146, 173.

30. Ray, Hemen : How Mosco Sees Kashmir, op. cit., p. 44.

before the Security Council citing India's action in Goa as an indisputable evidence of her aggressive intention, the Soviet Union opposed the move and gave India total and unqualified support³². The Soviet Union also supported to withdraw the special status given to Jammu and Kashmir and to integrate the state into Indian Union³³. Soviet official told Indian diplomat in 1963 that New Delhi could count on Soviet support in the event renewed trouble in Kashmir³⁴. In December, 1963, after the sudden disappearance of holi Relic, and demonstration in Kashmir and Pakistan to exploit the situation, the Soviet Union was deeply disturbed by the anti-Indian campaign by Pakistan. Soviet leaders condemn Pakistan attempt to abuse the religious sentiments of the people of Kashmir for political purpose³⁵. At the disappearance of Khrushchev from the Soviet Scene the new Soviet Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin told Mrs. Gandhi that Soviet support for India's policy in Kashmir had remained unchanged and that Moscow regarded Kashmir an integral part of India³⁶.

But the new Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev decided to move away from the Soviet policy towards Kashmir. He envisaged using Kashmir for a rapprochement between India and Pakistan and to turn the sub-continent into a peaceful arena under the aegis of the Soviet Union. While endorsing the Indian Policy that Kashmir was an integral part of India, Comrade Brezhnev then, began to explore avenues for strengthening Soviet Pakistan relations³⁷.

In Nov. 1966, Soviet visitor to Pakistan Prof. Gherman Svergov of Moscow Institute of world Economy and International Relations stressed that Kashmir problem should be tackled in accordance with the interests of the people of the India-Pakistan sub-continent³⁸. Later on the leader of the Soviet trade union delegation to Pakistan (G. Podeskiskov) made the same plea i. e. the solution of Kashmir problem should be sought in consultation with the people of Kashmir-Pakistan and India without outside interference.³⁹ At the time when President Ayub Visit Soviet

31. Ibid., p. 46.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., p. 47.

34. Ibid., p. 54.

35. Ibid.,

36. Ibid., p. 55.

37. Ibid., p. 57.

38. Ibid., p. 74.

39. Kaushik, Devendra : Soviet Relations with India and Pakistan op. cit., p. 103.

Union, Kosygin stressed, "Pakistan and India will make all efforts for moving step by step in settling the existing problems (Kashmir) and in this way lay a firm fundation for good relations."⁴⁰ Ayub Khan was conuinced that Soviet policy toward Kashmir had undergone a change. He said, "he has returned with the conviction that in event of a new war on Kashmir, the Soviet Union will not stand behind India as it has done earlier and is happy that he has been able to create a breach in Soviet-Indian relation in regard to Kashmir."⁴¹ He then threatened New Delhi with a war on Kashmir unless India agree to solve the conflict on Pak's terms.⁴²

During Shashtri's visit to Moscow in 1965 the Soviet Union refused to take a public stand on Kashmir issue, Shashtri did discuss the Kashmir problem with Kosygin but failed to get any mention in the joint communique issued at the end of his visit.⁴³

As a matter of new policy; the soviets were adverse to pronounce any judgement on pak. infiltration in Kashmir in 1965 and wanted to view the Kashmir conflict in a non-committed way.⁴⁴ As Tashkent meeting approached nearer, after 1965 war, Soviets advised India and Pakistan to settle old and dangerous Kashmir issue under the Soviet Patronage.⁴⁵ They also rejected the claim that Moscow was not objective on Kashmir issue and was inclined to support one side at the expense of the other side.⁴⁶ They carefully chosed Tashkent as the venue for their first attempt to use Kashmir establish a rapprochement between India and Pakistan.⁴⁷

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40. Ibid., p. 104.

41. Ibid., p. 105.

42. Ray, Hemen : How Moscow Sees Kashmir, op. cit., p. 78.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., p. 80.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

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THE UNIVERSITY REVIEW

JAMMU UNIVERSITY RESEARCH JOURNAL
OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Vol. IV

AUGUST 1986

OFF PRINT



UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
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fourteen

Development of Education in Jammu and Kashmir State During Hundred Years of Dogra Rule

Dr. (Mrs.) Sheetal Gupta

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In Kashmir, on the other hand, the pioneer work in the field of Education was done by missionaries. Rev. R. Clark and Col. Martin came there as early as 1854 to reconnoitre the field by Christian missionary activity.³ Maharaja Gulab Singh allowed

1. Bhushan, Indu : The Govt. And Administration in Jammu & Kashmir
A Dissertation submitted to Lucknow University, March 6th, 1946 (unpublished) p. 162.
2. Vishva Sanskrit Shatabdis Grantha (in Sanskrit)
Placed in Raghunath Temple Liberry, Jammu p. 51
3. Sufi, G. M D : Kashmir
Vol. II New Delhi 1974 p. 782

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The brightest chapter in the history of eventful Dogra rule is provided during the region of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, who succeeded his father Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1857. Besides, being an able administrator and a noble king, he was also a great scholar of Sanskrit and Persian and a renowned patron of learning.⁵ During his regime the state government assumed the positive responsibility of educating the people of the state on the modern lines.⁶ Soon after his accession to the throne, he constructed the Raghunath Temple at Jammu which became the biggest seat of learning and research. Attached to the temple was a Sanskrit Pathshala or a college and library containing some of the rare sanskrit manuscripts collected during his period.⁷

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In about 1861 extensive operations were begun under the guidance of Pt. Raja Kak to obtain copies of the rare manuscripts preserved by the learned pandits of Kashmir Valley. These were also translated into Devanagri script.¹¹ There was, thus, department

4. Ibid p. 782

5. A Note on the Jammu And Kashmir J&K Govt. Publication Jammu 1928, p. 4.

6. Nurallah, Syed *A History of Education in India*
Naik, J. P. (During the British Period) p. XIV Introduction.

7. A Hand book of Jammu & Kashmir State H. H. Govt. Jammu and Kashmir, Jammu 1947 p. 26.

8. Sharma, B. P. : Maharaja Ranbir Singh-A patorn of Art and Learning - A paper (unpublished) pp. 1-2.

9. Kaul, G. L. : *Kashmir Then And Now*
Chronicle Publishing House Srinagar. pp. 88.

10. Sharma, B. P. : Maharaja Ranbir Singh - A patorn of Art and Learning, op. cit. p. 88

11. Ibid p. 2

for the collection and publication of Sanskrit works. For the purpose of printing of books for pathshalas and Maktabs, a printing press under the name of 'Vidya Vilas Press' was established and located the Raghunath Temple Premises.¹²

In the valley Persian was in vogue and the Maharaja established a number of Maktabs. In order to promote understanding between the Hindu and Muslims subject the translations of various works in Persian and Devanagri were made available to the large number of the people. According to Dr. Stein "Pereian and Arabi works on historical, philosophical and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of competent Maulvis in order to facilitate that exchange of ideas which the Maharaja in a spirit of true enlightenment desired to promote between the representatives of Hindu and Mohammadan scholarship in his Dominions".¹³

"Dr. Stein has catalogued under 25 heads, the 4,496 manuscripts collected by the Maharaja and stored in the Raghunath Temple Library".¹⁴ Besides, a collection of about 700 manuscripts, some of them printed, was preserved in the Sri Ranbir Public Library at Jammu. The latter have now been removed and added to the collections of the newly created research and publication department for further research work".¹⁵ During his reign the regular schools and Pathshalas, Maktabs, were established and vocational classes were also started. Pathshalas for learning of Sanskrit Hindu Scriptures and Law, Grammar, Logic, Science and Medicines were established at Jammu and Uttarbehni on the principles of ancient Mathas or Universities. These institutions were residential; day scholars were also admitted and were maintained by donations from Maharaja and other wealthy citizens. These Pathshalas were part and parcel of the Raghunath Temple. Ranbireshwar Temple, Gadadharji at Jammu and Gadadharji Temple at Uttarbehni".¹⁶

Education of all types was free and all students were given stipends in the shape of free books and free boarding and lodging.¹⁷

12. Ibid

13. Stein, M. A. : Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript of H. H. The Maharaja of Jammu & Kashmir, 1902

14. Ibid

15. Sharma, B. P : Maharaja Ranbir Singh - A patorn of Art and Learning op. cit. pp, 3

16. Chark, Dr. Sukhdev Singh : Educational And Literary Activity During Ranbir Singh's Reign (1857-1885)
An article published in Gulab Bhawan Research Series Jammu, Vol I No. 1 Oct. 1979
p, 7

17. Ibid

The admission was also opened to the Sudras students, and they too used to study scriptures and other subject along with the students of the three higher casts.¹⁸ These institutions were also thrown open to the scholars from adjoining regions and from all over India.¹⁹

Strict disciplined was imposed among the scholars. The vocational training was also introduced to induce the wards of artisans to take to education. When, it was brought to his notice that some of the people were not paying attention to the education of their sons, Ranbir Singh issued a strict rejoinder that "as it is the fore-most duty of parents to give proper education to their children, so any person whose son is found loitering about and who does not give him education in a subject or training in a craft particular or suitable to his family, he will be taken to task."²⁰

The Madarssas, Pathsalas and Maktabs were established in all the cities and towns in Jammu province as well as in Kashmir province.

To keep students active in learning and to enable them to come up to the standard, a comprehensive system of periodical check up and examination was framed. At the end of each course degree and medals were awarded to the successful and deserving students.²¹

The total number of schools in the state in 1872-73 thus, were 44. Of these 31 schools in Jammu and 13 in Kashmir. In the two capital cities there were 10 institutions with a total attendance of 1,533 students during that year.²²

Provisions were also made for scholarships to deserving students for higher studies at Banaras and other Universities. The Maharaja also founded a Sanskrit Pathshala at Benaras.²³

Maharaja Ranbir Singh was the first to introduce Sanskrit and Hindi words for military drill. He got prepared a book on Military Science in Devnagri Script, the original manuscript of which is lying in the library of the Research and Publication Department of the State. As the Dogri alphabet, in its old form, not easy to read accurately or quickly, Maharaja caused to be invested a modification of it. Thus, bringing them nearer to Devnagri.²⁴

18. Ibid

19. Ibid

20. Ibid

21. Ibid p. 6

22. Ibid p. 9

23. Sharma, B. P. : Maharaja Ranbir Singh - A patron of Art and Learning op. cit. p. 3

24. Ibid pp. 5-6

Maharaja was the first to contribute a handsome donation Rs. 62,500 towards the establishment of the University of the Punjab for which, he was nominated as one of its fellow.²⁵

It was during his region that missionaries started their educational work in the state. The Mission school, known as Tyndale Biscoe School Today, was established by Rex J. S. Doxey 1881 and was the first to follow the University Syllabus.²⁶ In short, by the close of his region, in general and liberal type of education had become more popular and conventional education had a few votaries.²⁷

Maharaja Partap Singh, who succeeded Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1885 and who ruled over the state till 1925, also raised the status of the institutions to a regular school introducing English teaching and imparting Education according to the University Curriculum.²⁸ In 1901 there were 2 High schools, 12 Middle schools, 14 Secondary schools and 66 Primary schools.²⁹ The number of the schools going children between 5-20 years age was 10 lakh, ten thousands and twenty-nine.³⁰

As for the education of female in the state, the state got no schools of its own for the education of girls, but with a view to encourage private enterprise in this line, a grant of Rs. 1,000 was sanctioned by the Durbar for the Kanya Pathshala at Jammu.³¹

Sri Pratap Hindu College, was established in 1905 under the auspices of the Central Hindu College Banaras.³² It could not function smoothly for paucity of funds and taken over by state in 1912 and renamed as Sri Partap College.³³ In 1907 a college was established at Jammu as well. It was named at 'Prince of Wales College' in commemoration of the visit of the Prince of Wales at Jammu.³⁴

Two first grade colleges and two technical schools besides nearly 50 Secondary schools and over 600 Primary schools were established.³⁵

25. Sufi, G. M. D. : Kashmir op. cit. p 791

26. Bamzai, P. N K. : A History of Kashmir Metropolitan Book Company Pvt. Ltd, 1992, New Delhi.

27. Charak, Dr. Sukhdev Singh : Educational And Literary Activity During Ranbir Singh's Regin, (1857-1885) op. cit. p. 12

28. Bamzai, P. N. K. A History of Kashmir op. cit. p. 702

29. Administration Report J&K (S. 1958-59)

30. Census of India 1901 Vol. XVIII Kashmir Part-I p. 49

31. Administration Report, 1897-98 A.D. J&K Govt. pp. 49-50

32. Administration Report, S. 1968 J&K Govt p. 2

33. Sufi, G. M. D. : Kashmir op. cit. p. 813

34. Tawi - vol. I No. 1 Dec. 1912 p 1

P. W. D College Jammu.

35. A Handbook of Jammu & Kashmir State op. cit. p. 29

There was no provision for female education as such in the state. In every thousands of its female population only one individual was literate.³⁶

In 1921, near the close of his reign the number of literates in the state was less than three quarters of a lakh.³⁷

The people of Jammu did not favour women going in for higher education of western type. The orthodox people disuaded them from sending their girls in the co-educational institutions. However, a small number of girls sought admission in P. W. College after 1931.³⁸ It was only in 1944 when the 'The Maharani Mahila College' came into existence.³⁹

Education had made very remarkable advance during the reign of last Maharaja of Kashmir—H. H. Hari Singh. University education was received by over 2,900 pupils including a number of girls, in the colleges maintained by the Government and the tuition fees had been fixed at very low rates.⁴⁰ There were four government colleges, in the two provinces—a Degree College and an Intermediate College at Srinagar, a Degree College at Jammu and an Intermediate College at Mirpur. There was an Intermediate College at Poonch also.⁴¹ Pre-University education was particular made free.⁴² The Primary Education Act was passed in 1930 and Primary Education for boys was free and compulsory in cities and important towns.⁴³ Books were supplied free, except in the High schools, in the Capital cities and Mirpur town, and even in these schools, only about 33% of the boys paid fees and the rest were free scholars.⁴⁴ Liberal scholarships had been provided to encourage education at all stages. In addition to this, special grants were included in the budget every year for scholarships to pupils belonging to poorer or educationally backward communities.⁴⁵ Special scholarships were also earmarked for students from the Frontier district who read in the High schools or the colleges and for girl students reading in colleges within the state or outside.⁴⁶ By 1931, thus, there were as many as 133,885 literates in the state, showing an increase of 71%

36. Census of India - 1911 Vol. XX Part-I p. 163

37. Bhushan, Indu : The Govt And Administration in Jammu & Kashmir op. cit. p. 162

38. Administration Report. S. 1988-89 (1931-32) J&K Govt., Jammu p. 11

39. Progress Report of Maharani Mahila College 1944-45 A.D. pp. 2-5

40. A Handbook of J&K State op. cit. p. 43

41. Ibid p. 49

42. Ibid

43. Ibid

44. Ibid

45. Ibid

over the figures of 1921.⁴⁷

The number of pupils in government and aided educational institution were increased from 44,601 in 1925 to over 1,34,000 in 1946, the number of the institutions from 706 to 2,158 and the expenditure on education from Rs. 1075 lakhs to Rs. 36,80 lakhs.⁴⁸

Following the publication of the report of Basic Education Committee (popularly known as the Wardha Committee) an Educational Reorganization Committee under the presidentship of Mr. K. G. Saiyidain, the then Director of Education and Dr. Zakir Hussain as its member was appointed to examine the suitability and adequacy of then existing system of primary and secondary education in the state and to make recommendations for its improvement.⁴⁹ The recommendations of the Committee included besides acceleration of the pace at the primary stage and the introduction of many reforms in general at different stages, (1) the organization of adult education, and (2) the introduction of Basic Education in which craft teaching and book learning were closely integrated⁵⁰

In the pursuance of the scheme for the introduction of Basic education, a number of ordinary primary schools were converted into Basic Schools with proper staff and equipment, and the consequent improvement in the quality of education had been marked.⁵¹

The two Teachers Training Schools remodelled on the lines envisaged in the Reorganization Committee's Report, were started—one at Srinagar in October, 1938 and other at Jammu in 1946.⁵² In order to improve the further efficiency of the teaching personnel, refresher courses of various kinds were instituted for teachers.⁵³

The drive against illiteracy met with a large measures of success there were over 4,000 adult literacy centres in 1943 and about 55,000 adults were being made literate. The members of police force, the inmates of jails, the literate government

46. Ibid

47. Bhushan, Indu : The Government And Administration in Jammu & Kashmir op. cit, p. 162

48. A Handbook of Jammu & Kashmir op. cit. p. 49

49. Ibid

50. Ibid p. 50

51. Ibid

52. Ibid

53. Ibid

employees were made available for imparting literacy to illiterates.⁵⁴ About 250 adult libraries had also been opened and more than 2½ lakh books were distributed free of cost to adults during 1940-41.⁵⁵ Visual instruction was also provided to them with the help of magic-lanterns. About 28,000 were granted literacy certificates out of these, 1,457 were women.⁵⁶

Medium of Instruction

His Highness Government had passed orders that the medium of instruction should be simple Urdu written in both the Persian and the Devnagari scripts, that the text books should be published in both the scripts and the students should have the option of choosing either script, and that teachers in schools which had at least 15 percent students wishing to learn either script (i. e. at least 15% wishing to learn Persian script and the same minimum percent wishing to learn Devnagari script) should know both the scripts.⁵⁷

Women's education had also made considerable head way during his reign.

The educational policy was re-oriented with the aim to achieve mass literacy within a specified period, of time and to impart vocational training to a large number of boys. There was a plan to make primary education universal within 5 years (i. e., upto 1951-52) in case of boys and 10 years (i. e. upto 1956-57) in case of girls.⁵⁸

However, the following tables will further throw light on the development of education in the J&K State during the reign of Maharaja Sir, Hari Singh.

54. Ibid

55. Ibid

56. Ibid

57. Bhushan, Indu : The Govt. and Administration in Jammu & Kashmir op. cit. p. 164

58. A Handbook of Jammu & Kashmir op. cit. p. 50

Table 1. Showing increase in the number of educational institutions in the state and the scholars reading in them during 15 years i.e. from S. 1987 - S. 2002.

S. No.	Years (Sambat)	No. of Institutions (Boys & Girls)	Number of scholars in Lakhs (boys & girls)
1.	S. 1987-1988	1,284	82.3
2.	S. 1988-1989	1,303	88.2
3.	S. 1989-1990	1,297	83.3
4.	S. 1990-1991	1,337	85.6
5.	S. 1991-1992	1,338	88.2
6.	S. 1992-1993	1,302	92.3
7.	S. 1993-1994	1,492	99.4
8.	S. 1994-1995	1,491	99.6
9.	S. 1995-1996	1,500	107.0
10.	S. 1996-1997	1,698	108.0
11.	S. 1997-1998	1,780	114.0
12.	S. 1998-1999	1,788	118.0
13.	S. 1999-2000	1,989	120.8
14.	S. 2000-2001	2,078	127.2
15.	S. 2001-2002	2,158	134.4

(The Table adopted from A Hand Book of J&K State, J&K Govt. Jammu p. 48)

Table 2. Showing scholars in girls institutions and number of institutions for girls education in J&K State during 15 years i. e. from S. 1987-S.2002.

S. No.	Years (Sambat)	Number of Scholars in girls institution	Number of institutions for girls education
1.	S. 1987-1988	10,800	164
2.	S. 1988-1989	12,300	167
3.	S. 1989-1990	12,100	171
4.	S. 1990-1991	13,100	181
5.	S. 1991-1992	13,600	182
6.	S. 1992-1993	14,300	194
7.	S. 1993-1994	14,400	204

S. No.	Years in (Sambat)	Number of Scholars in girls institution	Number of institutions for girls education
8.	S. 1994-1995	15,400	215
9.	S. 1995-1996	15,900	225
10.	S. 1996-1997	17,000	236
11.	S. 1997-1998	17,200	246
12.	S. 1998-1999	18,000	269
13.	S. 1999-2000	19,000	290
14.	S. 2000-2001	20,700	315
15.	S. 2001-2002	21,000	335

(The Table adopted from A Handbook of Jammu & Kashmir State J&K Govt. Jammu p-48)

Table 3. Showing increase in the expenditure on grant-in-aid to educational institutions and increase in the expenditure in lakhs of rupees on education in the state during 15 years i. e. from S. 1987-S. 2002.

S. No.	Financial Years (in sambat)	Increase in the expenditure on grant-in aid in thousands of Rs to education institutions	Increase in expenditure in Lakhs of Rs. on Education in the J&K State
1.	S. 1987-1988	93.0	15.0
2.	S. 1988-1989	102.0	16.0
3.	S. 1989-1990	199.0	16.0
4.	S. 1990-1991	88.0	16.0
5.	S. 1991-1992	101.0	16.0
6.	S. 1992-1993	88.0	17.0
7.	S. 1993-1994	118.0	18.0
8.	S. 1994-1995	135.0	19.0
9.	S. 1995-1996	166.0	21.0
10.	S. 1996-1997	190.0	21.0
11.	S. 1997-1998	196.0	23.0
12.	S. 1998-1999	230.0	26.0
13.	S. 1999-2000	240.0	29.0
14.	S. 2000-2001	262.0	34.0
15.	S. 2001-2002	278.0	36.80

(The Table adopted from A Handbook of Jammu & Kashmir State, J&K Govt. Jammu p-48)

In brief, a glance at the history of the development of Education during hundred years of Dogra rule in J&K state shows that inspite of the paucity of financial resources vast strides had been taken to achieve mass literacy in the state within a specific period of time. To sum up at the close of Dogra rule in the state primary education was free throughout the state and was compulsory in two capital cities and four other towns. Book for primary classes were distributed free of cost on a very generous scale. Pre University education, too was free in most of the schools though children of the well to do were charged nominal fee in a new institutions. The fees charged in the Arts Colleges too were very low. Many scholarships were given by the state to deserving students and special scholarships were given to students coming from the Frontier district and students belonging to educationally backward communities.

Adult education was also given a start in October, 1938 and made a remarkable progress.

A Scholarship Selection Board had been functioning since 1927. In 1945-46 thirty qualified State Subjects selected by the Board were sent by the state to receive training at various American, European and British Indian Institutions in Civil Engineering, Architecture and Town Planning, Medicine, Veterinary Forestry, Printing and Pharmaceuticals, Horticulture, Sericulture and other branches of knowledge. The state government also used to grant loans to selected candidates for advanced studies in India or abroad. In 1945-46 Rs. 80,000/- had been loaned to a number of state subjects for training in Forestry, Chemistry, Mathematics, medicine and public health.



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Pre - 53 Status to J&K : Not an Issue

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*It has happened,
and it goes on happening,
and will happen again
if nothing happens to stop it¹.*

Nature and Extent of Autonomy Being Asked For

At the outset it ought to be made clear that the demand for pre-53 status is an outgrowth of late Sheikh Abdullah's desire for independent Kashmir for which he was arrested time and again till he finally got settled all such disputes in the Kashmir Accord of 1975. In the concluding remarks the State Autonomy Committee (SAC) sums up the nature and extent of autonomy to the State of Jammu and Kashmir in its report as under :

"To sum up, the provisions of the constitution of India specified in the second schedule to the constitution (Application to J&K) Order, 1950 and the matters agreed to by the representatives of the State and the Union vide Delhi Agreement of 1952 should continue to apply to the state subject to the same exceptions and modifications as are specified in the said order and the Delhi Agreement. All orders issued thereafter under clause (i) of Article 370 of the constitution of India by the President of India to the state whether in full or in modified form or making any change in the provisions or matters already applied by 1950 order or agreed to under Delhi Agreement should be rescinded and the provisions or matters so applied to the state should cease to apply.

Also the changes made in the State Constitution vide constitution of Jammu and Kashmir (First Amendment) Act, 1959 and Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir (Sixth Amendment, Act, 1965 be repealed and the original provisions of the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir as adopted by the State Constituent Assembly on November 17, 1956 be restored".²

All this indicates that NC government plans to break up the Kashmir Accord of 1975 because under it it can review only such post-53 central laws which are in the concurrent list and related to welfare measures, socio-cultural matters personal laws and procedural laws etc.

Justification Given by SAC

The study of SAC report indicates the following grounds for the autonomy to J&K State³:-

1. Originally the accession of J&K state was limited only to the areas of defence, external affairs and communication as per the Instrument of Accession,
2. The Instrument of Accession was infact the outcome of negotiated terms of membership of Indian Union.
3. Autonomy as planned has been the heartbeat of the people of the state,
4. The erosion of autonomy, as partially given in Article 370, is the prime cause for ongoing militancy in Kashmir.
5. An announcement by the P.V.Narsimha Rao, the then Prime Minister in 1995, for considering autonomy "short of independence" for J&K,
6. Boycott of Parliamentary Poll in 1996 by NC as a protest against non restoration of State's autonomy in terms of Delhi Agreement of 1952,
7. Promise of maximum autonomy by Deve Gowda as Prime Minister while persuading Dr.Farooq Abdullah and his party to participate in the last Assembly elections,
8. Autonomy to J&K as one of the promises NC made in the elections manifesto in the last Assembly elections manifesto in the Assembly election,
9. Dr. Farooq Abdullah further justifies that if Indian constitution can be reviewed, autonomy can be restored to J&K, *and*
10. Demand for autonomy is an extension of Kashmir accord of 1975, *and*

Thus, it is claimed by the SAC that Dr. Farooq Abdullah initiated the process of restoring autonomy to the State in accordance with the mandate given to him by the people of the State and also the assurances given by the Union Government from time to time.

Autonomy as Planned not Acceptable

The report of SAC on the demand for state autonomy is unconstitutional, ill-founded and thus not justified at all on account of number of reasons as given below:

1. It is highly irresponsible statement by the SAC that the accession of J&K state was limited to the areas of defence, external affairs and communication as per the instrument of Accession because it was decided on the basis of negotiated terms. Infact accession was completed through the Article 370, the Constitution Application to Jammu and Kashmir Orders 1950 and 1954 and the same was further strengthened through the final negotiated terms for settlement of the said dispute in Kashmir Accord of 1975.
2. Infact the term autonomy to the state is being used in place of Sheikh's desire for plebiscite for Independence which he raised time and again between "Quit Kashmir" movement of 1946 and "Kashmir Accord" of 1975. Had such a game plan been acceptable Sheikh Abdullah would have not boldly entered into the agreement of 1975 for closing the chapter in this regard.
3. No state government is constitutionally competent to appoint an autonomy committee and that too unilaterally just on the ground that the ruling party has obtained mandate for it. Demand for pre 53-status to J&K was never a well explained and constitutionally acceptable promise in NC's election manifesto. NC government unreasonably is considering people's mandate for governance as a mandate for autonomy because it was never an exclusive referendum for autonomy. Election promises are populous in nature and thus can not be taken as referendum.
4. The claim of SAC that the state's autonomy has been the heartbeat of the people and its erosion is primary cause for the Kashmir discontent is not true. Had it been heartbeat of the people, it would have

not been raised only by National Conference ie. all other political parties don't support such a demand. The people of J&K state from any of the regions have never made such a demand before any of the concerned commissions appointed for better centre state relations and for resolution of regional conflicts in the state.

5. If at all the erosion of the autonomy granted under article 370 appears to have taken place, its remedy could have been sought by referring the matter to the Supreme Court of India under Article 131 who has original jurisdiction to resolve any dispute between centre and states or alternatively it could have been referred to the Inter-State Council under Article 263 since issue of autonomy raises the validity of Instrument of Accession and subsequent amendments in the Indian Constitution⁴.
6. All the members of SAC represent only National Conference. Some of them particularly from Jammu city cannot even win municipal election what to talk of true representatives of people of all the regions. Apparently it is due to the nature of composition of the SAC that Dr. Karan Singh had to resign from its chairmanship.
7. The announcements by the then Prime Ministers, viz., P.V.Narsimha Rao and Deve Gowda in their speeches or personal conversation/correspondence with Dr. Farooq Abdullah have yet to be endorsed by the Union cabinet or Parliament. Thus the argument that autonomy had been assured by the Union Government doesn't sound good for a responsible Chief Minister, his Cabinet Colleagues and even for SAC to justify the demand for the autonomy that too when we face Kargil, hijack like problems.
8. Even if the so claimed promise by P.V.Narsimha Rao and by Deve Gowda for autonomy short of Azadi or maximum autonomy is to be considered, the demand has never been supported by the militant organisations who are responsible for the ongoing militancy in Kashmir.

State Autonomy as Pressure Tactics

National Conference has been using such unreasonable pressure tactics whenever it is in trouble or fails to ensure full authoritarian status in the governance of the state. Some of the actions it took since its inception indicates its style of functioning:

1. When during his visit to Kashmir in 1944 M.A. Jinnah favoured Muslim Conference, National Conference got frustrated and started sowing the seeds of Independent Kashmir and accordingly launched "Quit Kashmir" movement on May 10, 1946 and raised the demand for plebiscite for the same on May 17, 1946.
2. After taking the charge of the Government of J&K State as Prime Minister on March 4, 1948, Sheikh Abdullah went on working for authoritarian status which became quite clear when soon after Delhi Agreement of 1952 he took no time in getting the institution of hereditary monarchy abolished in one go and other provisions were referred to a sub-committee for further move in this regard.
3. National conference has time and again raised the demand for plebiscite under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah during 1953-75, as and when he was released, just to get unchecked Kingdom in the state.
4. When congress withdrew support to Sheikh government due to its unacceptable posture, Sheikh Abdullah got assembly dissolved even though congress had the majority to form the government.
5. During Janta wave in the country, congress had failed very miserably in the state and thus Sheikh Abdullah swept the poll not that congress was weak but Janta Party had situationally supported National Conference. But such a landslide victory made Sheikh more authoritarian and the NC government took extremely controversial measures like :
 - (a) Resettlement bill
 - (b) Withdrawal of cases against hard core terrorists of Al Fatah, and
 - (c) Expulsion of highly respected Murza Aflzal Beg.
6. Boycott of Parliamentary Poll in 1996 by National

Conference as a protest against restoration of autonomy in terms of Delhi Agreement of 1952 even though it was itself a party to the agreement under the leadership of its founder president Late Sheikh Abdullah to Kashmir Accord of 1975 for final settlement of all the disputes in this regard.

7. Even the assurance given by the NC government that the recommendations of both State Autonomy Committee and Regional Autonomy Committee would be discussed with all political parties before interacting with the Union government⁵ has not be fulfilled due to the obvious reason that these reports do not enjoy broad based support from the people of the entire state.
8. No demand has ever been encouraged for the establishment of new states or reorganisation of the state on religious⁶ times, but Jammu region has been planned to be divided on communal ground into three regions as per the reports of Regional Autonomy Committee despite that its working Committee Chairman and another member have not supported it.
9. The reports of both SAC and RAC have not been supported by Dr.Karan Singh⁶ and Sh.Balraj Puri⁷ who were respectively Original Chairman and working Chairman of these Committees. But despite such an anomaly NC Government feels justified in placing this reports before Union government for approval which indicates that it has no love for fair play and judicious governance and that too when its own credentials regarding financial affairs of the State during its governance are highly doubtful.
10. Though the people of Jammu and Ladakh regions constitute about 50 percent of state's population and inhabit nearly 90 percent of its area⁸ but their opinion about the both reports has been ignored.

Instead of answering as to how the present poor financial state of affairs of the state reached during its governance despite the liberal financial support from the centre, the NC government indulges in the politics of blackmail by demanding State Autonomy in the form of pre-53 status knowing very well that such a demand cannot be accepted within the present basic structure of both Constitution of India and Constitution of the State.

Real Issue

Under the circumstances, it is not desirable to open a settled issue on the aforesaid grounds particularly by such a ruling political party whose founding father clearly states that the future of Jammu and Kashmir lies with India⁹. Even the autonomy granted under Article 370 has caused a lot of socio-economic damage to the state. Thus, instead of attempting to turn the clock back to 1952, we should think of strong national integration and self-reliance of economy of the state to make the socio-economic, and politico-cultural life of the people better besides making planned efforts for restoring peace in the valley. The ongoing Pak supported militancy will disappear with the fair, corruption-less and effective governance in the state. How does NC government forget that a country having lost, among many others, its great leaders viz., Mahatma Gandhi, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi for the cause of national integration can not accept ~~the~~ such a nefarious design of a group of people whose loyalty to the nation goes, may be temporarily under emotions and sentiments, the moment they are out of power? However, Dr. Farooq Abdullah's repeated statement "People of J&K had been with India, are with India and will remain with India" does strengthen India's efforts for overcoming the real issue the state of J&K faces. With the law and order deteriorating due to renewed insurgency particularly in two regions of the state, a definitive and workable political initiative is overdue and just such statements will not change the situation. Under the circumstances, the report of State Autonomy Committee ought to be referred to the 11 member Constitution Review Panel appointed by the Government of India.

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1. Jag Mohan (1991), My Frozen Turbulence in Kashmir, Allied Publisher, New Delhi, 3-4.
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5. For detail please see Foreword by General K.V. Krishana Rao, the then Governor of J&K, to Hari Om et al (1999), opp. Cit.
6. Karam Singh (2000), J&K-The Way Forward, Hindustan times, New Delhi February 9, 13.
7. For detail please see Q/A (Balraj Puri), Kashmiriyat, First & Last, February 11, 2000, New Delhi, 14.
8. Hari Om (1993), Indian Defence Review, October, 18-22.
9. For detail please see Kashmir Accord 1975.
10. Jay Mohan (1991) opp. Cit., 367-368.

There was a general consensus before the partition of the country in 1947 that Independent India should evolve as a federal polity. However, once it was known that the country is getting divided, the perception of future polity underwent a major change. The constitution was framed in a manner which would minimize the temptation of a further split of the country. The effort to ensure a strong Centre was deemed as an "imperative" necessity. The country was called "Union of States", based on a system of division of powers between the States and the Centre. Thus the Indian State was structured on federal principle with a strong Centre. Inherent in this scheme, as pointed out above, was territorial distribution of powers.

It should be clear that Indian federalism is structured on the leading principle of integration and autonomy. It implies that both integration and autonomy are the essential components of Indian federalism. This needs to be emphasized because in a political discourse, it is the element of autonomy which gets highlighted. However, both integration and autonomy should be considered as imperative components of our federal system.

The closing decade of the 20th century has amply demonstrated the unfolding of democratic consciousness, which has further expanded in a variety of ways. It has been greatly enriched by the concept of human rights. The political systems under the influence of ever expanding frontiers of democratic consciousness have been left with no option but to broaden the contours of federalism. In fact, political systems all over appear to be evolving towards greater participation, which in our context has already become a social imperative.

AUTONOMY

In the contemporary political discourse there are two contending approaches. One of these would like us to believe that right to self-determination has acquired greater legitimacy in the wake of expanding structure of democratic consciousness. Its relevance is highlighted in relation to structures of dominance which invariably force people to

struggle for self-determination. This basically implies that these people are seeking political and economic powers to develop their identities.

The contrary view is , which I share, that right of self-determination has exhausted its scope . It cannot be applied to people who are not subjected to colonial rule. In the Indian context, it cannot be applied to post -independence period. This right is meaningless without right to secession. Prof. Hobsbawm, a leading authority on the question of Nations and Nationalism, argues “ In the classic Wilsonian-Leninist Form, the slogan of self-determination upto and including secession as a general programme can offer no solution for 21st century.” (Nations and Nationalism Since 1780) . Thus he makes another valuable observation that even in those “Regions where classic aspiration for separate nation-state might be expected to be strong, effective devolution or regionalisation has pre-empted the desire for self-determination ” Therefore, the concept of autonomy has become increasingly more relevant, or as Hobsbawm puts it. “national autonomy never ceases to have certain operational reality”. It has entered the contemporary political agenda. I am , therefore, firmly of the view that the construction of a new federal balance in India is necessary because it is bound to contribute to the basic tenets of our Union. This is a vital input which is necessary to build India as a strong “Union of States”. However, the parameters of autonomy must be worked out with immense care and thoughtful consideration.

We also must bear in mind that the older parameters of national divide , particularly religion, are now taking a back-seat because of a continuous assertion of secularism, which was projected by the political elite as an essential element in nation building. While the influence of religion in the identity clash is on the decline, the other elements of divide have come to the fore.

In the political power game , it has become more profitable now to refer to other elements of divide, namelycriptive ties based on ethnicity and sub-nationalism . It is not without significance that International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences (1968 edition) has no entry on ethnicity . And the Oxford English Dictionary defines Ethnicity as a rare word indicating " Heathendom and Heathen superstition". This indicates that we are dealing with a concept which came into use only in 1960's (Glazer and Moynihan Beyond the Melting Point, 1963)

One is not arguing that before 1960, the question of identity/identities was not raised in political discussions, but one normally talked of "Multiple-combined Identity". The identity politics is the consequence of "extra-ordinary rapid and profound upheavals" in the third quarter of 20th Century (Hobsbawm). It is obvious that no one has one and only one identity . Therefore, ethnic identity is a modern invention that has developed in a particular historic context. Its existence is largely based on a political myth, which is consciously created, propagated and often manipulated by political elites, who are seeking power. It is this which invariably creates a conflictual situation. "US" against "them" as a slogan has been legitimated by the elites.

There is no doubt that conflictual situations also arise because of oppression or discrimination of minorities. One should also emphasize that asymmetries of power and wealth invariably lead to social tensions and political conflicts. Uneven spread of economic development also generates a deep sense of neglect and deprivation. This kind of situation is the breading ground for those elites who fall upon ethnicity for pursuit of material and political advantage. Conflictual situations have grown every -where in India because one major social group holds State power, and used it to exercise control over others. We must not loose sight of the fact that nation- building becomes a futile exercise, because the small social groups are devoid of power and influence. Their aspirations are either ignored or obstructed. This is bound to create problems.

Of course, intra-group and inter-group differences based on heterogeneous factors have profound influences on the process of definition and transmitting national identities, aiming at creating a sense of unity out of existing differences as pre-requisite of stabilized democratic federal State. One should recognize plurality as ^{an} existential social reality and yet talk of synthesis at the higher level of cultural integration. "Facade" majoritarian democracies are not workable. It is always desirable to have a system ^{which} based on consensus building.

To conclude, federalism must be viewed as a comprehensive democratic process which has to be ensure equal status among people. Balancing and sharing political power in a variegated multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, and multi-religious society has emerged as an imperative. We have arrived at a stage in our national development in India, wherein the unity of the country can become elusive if we do not evolve a comprehensive system of sharing of power. The existing system which allows the concentration of power in the hands of the Centre has clearly out-lived its usefulness. For several years now the left oriented political formations have been demanding greater autonomy for the States. Their demand for greater financial autonomy was indirectly endorsed by the Tenth Finance Commission, which proposed that the Centre should share its taxes more considerably in the interest of better economic Centre-State relations.

The demand for devolution of powers to States has been taken over now by practically all political formations. The emergence of regional parties has given further fillip to this new orientation. In an interview to a TV programme (8th Feb. 2000) Shri L.K. Advani agreed that in the present set up, the Centre enjoys more powers than the States. And, therefore, the Central Government favoured decentralization of powers to

States, including J&K. He informed us that the recently created Constitution Review Panel would examine the issue of granting autonomy to States, *including J&K.*

The other day , Dr.Mannmohan Singh while inaugurating a Seminar here, pin-pointed the imperative need of a new model of governance. This, I believe, is a historical necessity. India cannot change unless both the Centre as well as States change the way they function. The real transformation of our country would not happen unless the Centre decentralizes in favour of States, and the States, in their turn, decentralise in favour of elected sub-regional/local governments. Obviously, this calls for legitimisation of new model of governance in our country.

(R.R.SHARMA)

Status of Education as a Fundamental Right

By Dr Ravi P. Bhatia**

I. Introduction

At present the subject of Education is provided in our Constitution in the section of Directive Principles of State Policy (DP's), under Article 45, which states (1):

‘The State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of 10 years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.’

There is also the accompanying Article 46 which directs that “the state shall make special provisions for the promotion of educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of SC/ST's.

Initially, when the Constituent Assembly had set up various Committees including that of the Fundamental Rights (FR's) and sub-committees to consider the framing and finalisation of the Constitution, there was no section of DP's. Instead, Fundamental Rights were divided into two sections – those that were justiciable and those that were not. The non-justiciable rights were subsequently included in the section of DP's by the Constituent Assembly in Part IV of the Constitution. Both the FR's and DP's were aimed at fostering social revolution by creating an egalitarian society so that all the citizens were free from coercion or restriction by the State. The DP's give a clear signal of the desirability of social revolution required for our impoverished masses.

These Directive Principles are not enforceable by the Courts but nevertheless are important enough so that the State is bound to secure them through legislative and administrative policy. These Directive Principles are aimed at establishment of economic and social democracy, which is pledged in the Preamble. In the words of B.N. Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the Constituent Assembly, “these Directive Principle's are moral precepts for the authorities of the State..” According to Pannikar, ‘these are aimed at introducing socialism in the economic sphere or economic democracy as distinguished from political democracy.’

In the words of Granville Austin (2), “In the Directive Principles, one finds an even clearer statement of social revolution. They aim at making the Indian masses free from passivity engendered by centuries of coercion by society. Towards this, the State is to apply the precepts contained in the DP's when making laws.”

Before we discuss the question of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles in connection with the subject of education, it would be worthwhile to delineate the historical background of these rights and principles.

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POLITICS OF TRADITION'S AGREEMENTS

(ACCORDS) POLITICS OF CASHMIRE AGREEMENTS

DELHI AGREEMENT OF JULY 1952

POLITICS OF KASHMIR AGREEMENTS

STATEMENT OF ACCORDS According to the Instrument of Accession of 26th Oct 1947
the State of Jammu and Kashmir had acceded
gratia on the Indian Union on three subjects - Foreign
affairs, communications and defence. Rest of the matters were
left to the state's discretion. The result was that the
applicability of F.R, citizenship, Supreme Court, Election &
Commission, Comptroller and Auditor General, etc. was
put within the state's residuary powers. The then state go
vern. by Sheikh Abdullah had thus a free hand to conduct
the internal administration of the state.

However, credit must be given to the new regime for
introducing land reforms in the state at a time when nobody
in Pakistan and very few in India had even thought of
making such a venture.

Sheikh Abdullah Pact of 1952 (i.e. Delhi Agreement)

the following:-

1. i) That no compensation should be paid for the expropriation of big landed estates. This was done by adopting the report of the land compensation committee (March 29th, 1952).¹

ii) That hereditary rulership should be abolished and that future headship of the State should be made elective.²

iii) That the State should have its own flag (June 7th, 1952).

It was necessary for the leaders of Jammu and Kashmir to get these decisions recognised by the Government of India, because appropriate amendments would have to be made in the Indian Constitution in its application to the State. As a consequence of these measures criticism and controversy rose in some parts of Jammu. The critics in India suspected the motivation for these decisions. On the other hand, some of the Kashmiri leaders were taking these criticisms as reflections on the deliberations of their sovereign Assembly. This led to a crisis period which came to the culminating point in 1953.

DELHI AGREEMENT OF JULY 1952

Credit must be given to the new regime for introducing land reforms in the State at a time when nobody in Pakistan and very few in India had thought

1. For the text of the resolution adopted in this connection, see Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly Debate; Vol.II; No.4; p.49.

2. This decision was made and implemented in various stages, by adopting the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee which recommended that the basis of political organisation in Jammu and Kashmir should be fully democratic, that hereditary rulership should be abolished, and that instead there should be an elected Sadar-i-Riyasat (June 12th, 1952) by adopting a resolution relating to the qualifications, tenure of office, and conditions of service of the Sadar-i-Riyasat (August 21st, 1952) by amending the existing constitution of J&K (1939) appropriately to replace the term "His Highness" wherever it appeared by Sadar-i-Riyasat (November 12th to 17th, 1952) and by determining emoluments, rights and privileges of the Sadar-i-Riyasat (November 18th and 19th, 1952).

3. Jagota, S.P. Development of Constitutional Relations between Jammu and Kashmir and India 1950-60. A paper read at the All India Law Conference held at Patna from April 15th to 17th, 1960.

Jan-Sangh party was the main National party which criticised it.

Meanwhile

The Praja Parishad, the only opposition party in Jammu charged the All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference and its govt, with adopting dubious methods in the elections of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly. ² Mirza Mohet Afzal Beg, the then chairman of the Basic Principles Committee, declared that the state of J&K would be "an autonomous Republic within the Indian Union, with a separate president, National Assembly, judiciary, Regional Autonomy and separate citizenship." ³

Beg's statement was deeply resented ^{not only} ~~only~~ in Jammu, but in Ladakh ~~but in India~~ and created serious apprehension about the credibility of the leaders of ~~Kashmir~~ ⁴

The already pent-up feelings of the people of Jammu were kindled and the result was protests and agitations against the govt.

2. Praja Parishad Memorandum submitted to President of India

3. C.A. Deb. Vol II No 1 JF 23-3 1952 PP 3-4

4. Dr. Bhushan Nigam, State Politics & Govt J&K, P. 176

↑ ^{see} A minor incident in G.G.M. Science College on 15th January 1952, when a few students staged a demonstration and organised a protest against the holding of the National Conference flag, led to ~~for~~ their penalisation, students' hunger strike, violence, police lathicharge, firing, intervention of the army, and imposition of 72 hours' curfew. and arrest of parajji parished leaders.

~~see~~

of making the experiment. The abolition of big landed estates and interests and the destruction of agrarian aristocracy, the abolition of indebtedness and usury, restitution of mortgaged properties and the nationalisation of the land tenures were progressive in content and measures of great significance. It was to put this economic programme of 'Naya Kashmir' into operation that the State leaders demanded some of the concessions and partial application of Chapter III of the Indian Constitution. The reforms, though theoretically sound, were introduced in a huff. The breathless hurry in which a time old system was abolished left everyone wondering. The old system of money - lending was abolished, but no effort was made to provide alternative means of credit, the co-operative movement was monopolised by a few individuals.

The land reform programme was not implemented satisfactorily. All the acts of commission and commission, inevitably created large scale discontent in various parts of the State. Kashmir Valley's wails, Ladakh's Lament and Jammu's jingle and jopution provided an opportunity to the reactionary elements both outside and inside the State to exploit the situation with a view to precipitating a crisis. (This became one of the main causes of the Praja Parishad movement in Jammu.) The land reform programme mainly affected that section of the Jammu Province which consisted of landlords and whose only source of income was land. Their already pent-up feelings were kindled and the result was protests and agitations against the Government. They developed the psychological feeling that the new regime was "anti Dogra." These feelings were there right from the day when the royal dynasty was terminated. They started criticising the Governmental policies and demanded more integration and abrogation of Article 370. The result was internal instability. *the undue intervention of Indian leadership in Kashmir affairs and*

Another reason which threatened internal stability was the wrong interpretation and exaggeration by the press, of the speeches delivered.

1. Right to property is subject to so many limitations.

the National Conference Leadership during that period. Mr. Beg's announcement in the State Constituent Assembly that"so far as the Constitution of the State is concerned we aim at making its frame work such that the State will be an autonomous unit within the Indian Union...." was highly criticised by the Indian Press. Indian Leaders and the press took autonomy for independence. ¹ As a reaction, in some emotional outburst Sheikh Abdullah made certain outspoken statements, for example, his speech on 29th March, 1952, in the Constituent Assembly, wherein he declared: "...we are a hundred percent sovereign body...." Further-more his speech at Ranbir Singh Pura on 11th April, 1952, caused a lot of suspense ² and a chain of angry reactions. ³ ⁴ ^{SGi}

Actually, what Sheikh Abdullah wanted and wished for was neither the accession of the State to Pakistan nor its independence, but his slogan was "maximum autonomy for the State within the Indian orbit," which had been misinterpreted since his Ranbir Singh Pura speech. Politicians in India expressed dis-satisfaction with these statements of Sheikh Abdullah, and the result was an uproar in the State and in India. Pt. Nehru, who otherwise had been giving support to the policy of his long-time friend, declared that he did not like these, especially the tone of his speeches. Indian leaders got alarmed on seeing the deteriorating internal situation of the State, which could have provided a golden opportunity to interested foreign powers. A sort of tug of war was going on between the integrationists and autonomists. So, left with no alternative, the Indian Government intervened and invited Sheikh Abdullah for talks in Delhi. But he refused to come for several months. He sent his emissaries to prepare the ground for an agreement which would stipulate a privileged, autonomous position for Kashmir in the Indian Union.

Later-on, compelled by circumstances, Sheikh Abdullah agreed to visit Delhi for talks; and it was in the month of July, 1952, that an agreement was

1. Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Ass-embly Debate; 25th March, 1952.
2. The Times of India, Tej, Pratap and Milep on 27th March, 1952, and the Hindustan Times, Amrit Bazar Patrika and Free Press Journal on 28th March, 1952 wrote editorials showing their disapproval "the assertions made in the State Constituent Assembly.
3. Delhi Radio, India Information Service, March 31st, 1952.
4. The Indian Express of January 11th, 1973.

signed, Delhi Agreement was a further guarantee of the special status of J&K

Kashmir. In an statement made on July 24th, 1952, in the Lok Sabha, the Indian Prime Minister gave details of the terms of the agreement concluded after a week of negotiations. The subjects covered in these negotiations were:-

1. Residuary Powers;
2. National Flag;
3. Powers of the Indian President;
4. Conduct of elections to the Houses of Parliament.
5. Headship of the State;
6. Citizenship;
7. Emergency Provisions;
8. Fundamental rights;
9. Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of India;
- and 10. Financial Integration.

On most of these subjects, baring the last three, agreements were reached.

The residuary powers remained with the State, the State Flag was to continue for "historical and sentimental reasons connected with their struggle for freedom," but the supreme position of the Indian flag was recognised. The powers of pardon etc. of the President and applicability of Article 324 to the election to the House would continue. On the question of the headship of the State the decision of the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly was accepted and it was suggested that the Sadar-i-Riyasat should be elected by the Assembly for a period of five years, and be recognised by the President.

Regarding citizenship, it was recognised that although under Article 5 of the Indian Constitution the residents of Jammu and Kashmir would be ~~citizens~~ ^{conferred} citizens of India but the State legislature could define their permanent residents and confer on them special rights and privileges, especially in regard to the acquisition of property and holding of employment under the State.

1. Parliamentary Debates, House of People, Part II, No. 3 (July 24th, 1952), Cols. 4501-4521.
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During the course of the Lok Sabha debate on Delhi Agreement on 7th August, 1952, Pt. Nehru said

"The strongest bonds that bind us will not be armies or even of Constitution to which so much references have been made but bonds which are stronger than the Constitution and armies - bonds that bind through love, affection and understanding."

On the question of emergency it was agreed that Article 352 should apply to Jammu and Kashmir but the proclamation of emergency issued by the President on grounds of internal disturbances or imminent danger thereof must not be made in relation to Jammu and Kashmir except on the request or with the concurrence of the State Government.

✓ The Fundamental Rights of the Indian Constitution, it was recognised could not be applied to Jammu and Kashmir in full because of a different political situation in the State and because of the socio-economic policies of the State Government under the New Kashmir Programme. It was decided that the whole matter should be studied further to find which fundamental rights should be applied to Jammu and Kashmir, and with what modifications.

✓ The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was another question over which final agreement was not forthcoming. The Supreme Court's jurisdiction was recognised with regard to such fundamental rights as would be agreed to by the State, and also regarding disputes mentioned in Article 131 of the Indian Constitution. It would be the final court of appeal, but detailed examination of this would be necessary, and it was agreed to consider it further some other time. Finally, the necessity of some financial arrangement was seen, but a detailed and objective examination was considered necessary.

Pt. Nehru, while justifying the Delhi Agreement in Parliament, said:-

".... there was general agreement that there should be fundamental rights and these rights should apply to the State. But again there were great apprehensions in the minds of our friends from Kashmir. First of all, the question was how far these Fundamental Rights might come in the way of their land legislation or any other development of it.... the second thing was ... all the business of invasion of Kashmir, war, ceasefire, all kinds of continuing tensions, difficulties due to infiltration etc.... espionage cases.... there is sabotage and unrest. So we were told that some part of the Fundamental Rights might very well hamper the activities of the State Government from taking (necessary) precautions. We agreed that this was essential in the interest of Kashmir, situated as the State is now...."

1. Gundevia, Y.D; The Testament of Sheikh Abdullah; Palit and Palit Publishers; New Delhi; 1947; p.104.

1.c.ii.

pt. Nehru, however, arranged a meeting of all the opposition elements of the parliament with Sheikh Abdullah, who congratulated him on the Agreement.

But the Communist group, comprising P. Sundaraiyya, Birsa Mukherji and Ajay Ghosh, met him again, secretly at 5 Prithvi Raj Road and impressed on him that the Agreement really meant his surrender to Nehru.

Indian leaders justified the Agreement on account of the abnormal conditions in the State caused by invasion etc. ¹ But the State leaders gave their own reasons for the granting of special position to Kashmir under the Delhi Agreement. For example, Mr. Beg said, "...It is because of its special character and the struggle for freedom which the people of Kashmir have led. Kashmir, let me say, is the only State with its composition of population which chose voluntarily to accede to India and we are happy about it...secondly, Kashmir has a strong popular movement behind it, for which we fought for 21 years. That movement was for the establishment of communal harmony and welfare of the masses. Kashmir has before it a definite socio-economic programme of its own....In order to implement that programme by common consent an agreement was signed and special position was given to us. Therefore, any question of having given this special position to us for a temporary period does not arise. It was never given to us because our question is hanging fire in the United Nations or because Pakistan put forward its right over Kashmir, but because of the reasons I have mentioned." So there was a variation in the reasoning of the two sides. The National Conference viewed the Delhi Agreement as a guarantee for permanent autonomy. This variation in the approaches later on became one of the reasons for exists and break between the State and Union leadership.

Objections were raised with respect to Emergency Powers; fundamental rights, double citizenship, separate State flag, and with regard to the Supreme Court's jurisdiction etc. Opposition parties raised a hue and cry in Parliament and asked how it can be reconciled with the claim that accession is complete, because there is a serious limitation on the authority of the Union President bearing intimately on defence, which is one of the three heads under which Kashmir had acceded. No other reason had been given by the then Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, for agreeing to this limitation except that the

1. Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly Debate; Vol. IV No. 3, 19th August 1952; p. 15.

2. Suchita Kriplani and S.P. Mukerjee - Lok Sabha Debates on 7th August 1953 published by Press and Information Department, Srinagar.

Linguistic and Territorial Issues in Punjab Since Independence : Some Reflections

* Dr. S.S. Tiwana

In pre-partition Punjab, two social reform movements gained strength in the Punjab. The Arya Samaj struck roots among the Hindu urban population and propagated the use of Hindi in the Devanagari script. The cause of Punjabi, on the other hand, was taken up by Chief Khalsa Diwan, a religious organisation of the Sikhs, during the same period. This organisation gave a religious overtone to Punjabi despite the fact that it was spoken by all the people living in the province. The court language and medium of instruction in all the schools of Punjab was Urdu. The vernacular newspapers, representing different viewpoints and political interest, were printed in Urdu in the pre-partition days.¹

The language, however, got linked with communalisation of politics in the province. In the ever-growing communal atmosphere, the demands for giving important place to Hindi and Punjabi gained momentum rapidly. Ultimately, the Union Government agreed to accede these demands and recognised the status of both these languages in the educational curriculum under Sikander-Baldev Singh Pact.² Punjabi language could not acquire the status which other languages such as Bengali and Telugu enjoyed in their respective regions. Language is regarded as a unifying force which cuts across sectarian and communal division. In the case of Punjab, however, the language issue further deepened the existing communal divide.

The Sikhs resented parity between the two languages. They argued that the spoken language of the Punjab was Punjabi and most of the literature of the Punjab was in Gurmukhi script ; therefore, Punjabi in Gurmukhi script should be

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declared the sole language of Punjab. But the Hindus opposed it and did not agree to even very reasonable suggestions. The Senate in the Panjab University at its meeting held on June 9, 1949 rejected by majority vote the proposal of Punjabi being adopted as the medium of instruction.³

Releasing the danger that renascent Hinduism and policies of the Government posed to separate identity of the Sikhs, Akali Dal demanded the creation of Punjabi-speaking states⁴. Master Tara Singh believed that Sikh identity could be protected only through the independent political existence of the panth. The creation of Punjabi-speaking state where the sikhs would be in majority was the only means of achieving that end. However, Master Tara Singh declared that Punjabi Suba would be an integral part of Indian Union. But the demand for the creation of Punjabi Suba was vehemently opposed by the Hindus of Punjab. They were gripped with the fear that ultimately it may lead to the creation of an independent sikh state on the pattern of Pakistan. Moreover, the Hindus were not prepared to abandon their newly acquired majority status which ensured their dominance in the administration of the state⁵.

SACHAR FORMULA

In October 1949, the Punjab Government submitted its proposals, popularly known as "Sachar Formula"⁶ on the language issue. According to this formula, the State was divided into two linguistic regions-Punjabi and Hindi. The language of the region was to be the medium of instruction in all the schools upto matriculation stage and children were required to learn the other language at the secondary stage. The choice for the medium of instruction in the eudcational institutions was left entirely to the parents or guardians of the pupils. The formula, however, was not obligatory for unaided recognised schools where the medium of instruction was to

be determined by the management concerned. It was decided that English and Urdu would remain the official and court languages and were to be progressively replaced by Hindi and Punjabi.

The Sachar Formula was hailed by the Sikhs as a welcome step though they criticised the right of the parents to choose and determine the medium of instruction for the education of their children. The proposals, however, met with severe criticism at the hands of the Hindu organisations like the Arya Samaj, the Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha. In order to counter the Akali demand of the Punjabi Suba and the claim of Punjabi as the regional language of the Punjabi-speaking area,⁷ these organisations and Hindu vernacular press launched a big campaign calling upon the Punjabi Hindus to record Hindi as their mother tongue in the census⁸. This was despite an offer made earlier by two sikh intellectuals, Bhai Jodh Singh and Principal Nirajan Singh at the behest of Akali Leader Master Tara Singh, that of Hindus were to record Punjabi as their language, he would make sikh agree to change the script of Punjabi from Gurmukhi to Devanagari, Had that offer been accepted in course of time, Punjabi would have become another dialect of Hindi like Bhojpuri, Maithali or Khadi Boli. But it was not to be so.

The creation of Andhra Pradesh in 1953 strengthened Master Tara Singh position so far as the demand for Punjabi Suba was concerned. The demand for linguistic re-organisation of states gained momentum in different parts of the country and led to the appointment of States Reorganisation Commission. In its memorandum to the Commission, the Akali Dal demanded the formation of a Punjabi-speaking state. The proposed state was to comprise of the Punjabi-speaking areas of Punjab, Pepsu and Rajasthan. It was argued that the creation of such a state would help in the development of Punjabi language and culture⁹. The Hindu organisations of Punjab opposed the Akali demand and instead presented a case for

the creation of Maha Punjab. In its report submitted in 1953, the States Reorganisation Commission rejected the demand for Punjabi-speaking state on the ground that it lacked the general support of the people inhabiting the area. The leadership of the Akali Dal made a hue and cry against the report and decided to launch an agitation on Punjabi Suba issue in 1955. The Hindus threatened counter agitation. The Congress High Command saved the situation by entering into an agreement with the Akali Dal popularly known as Regional formula.

Regional Formula

Under this arrangement, the State was divided into two separate Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking regions, Punjabi and Hindi were recognised as the official languages in their respective regions. Both the languages had an equal status at the state level. The Akali Dal also agreed to dissolve its separate political identity and merged with the Congress. The Punjab Government would establish two separate departments for developing Punjabi and Hindi languages. The general safeguards proposed for linguistic minorities would be applicable to Punjab like those in other States of the Union of India. In accordance with and in furtherance of its policy to promote the growth of all regional languages, the Central Government would encourage the development of the Punjabi language¹⁰.

It appears that Regional Formula did not give substantial concessions to the Akali Dal and fell short of its demand for Punjabi Suba. The Regional Formula was accepted by the Akalis. Master Tara Singh, while explaining the reasons for accepting the Formula, said that it fulfilled the aspiration of the Sikhs to an extent and at the same time did not give them any opportunity to dominate others, a power which if given, might make them undemocratic and narrow-minded. Moreover Master Tara Singh hoped that it would lead in removing misunderstanding about Akali demand and ultimately lead to the creation of Punjabi-speaking state. The

hopes of Master Tara Singh were, however, soon belied. The Government made no effort to make Regional Formula a success. Instead it made an attempt to acquire control over S.G.P.C. with the help of Akali leaders who had joined the Congress during 1957 Assembly elections.

The Regional Plan was not accepted by the Hindus communalists and the people of Haryana. The Hindu Mahasabha at the Conference held at Karnal on June 25, 1956 resolved that the scheme of the Regional Formula was no solution to the Punjab problem and was also no solution to the peculiar backwardness of Haryana.¹¹ In March-April, 1956, Panjab Jana Sangh leader, Balramji Das Tondon observed fast against the Regional Formula. The Government of India was accused of yielding to the pressure of the Akalis by relegating Hindi as a second language in Punjabi-speaking region. Partap Singh Kairon was also against the Regional Formula and was in favour of Maha Punjab.¹²

In April, 1957 after the formation of the new Ministry, the Hindus Raksha Samiti started demonstrations against the Regional Formula. The Hindi press played a big role in fanning the Hindu satyagraha. Concerned at the ferocity of this agitation, Giani Kartar Singh warned that if the Regional Formula failed, the Punjabi Suba Morcha would be revived. Lal Chand Sabharwal threatened that if Punjabi was imposed, the Morcha would reach the towns and the streets. The Arya Samaj threw itself completely into the agitation and agitations' groups reached Chandigarh from even outside Punjab. Speaker Hukam Singh said that this agitation was a conspiracy aimed at finishing off Punjabi. Swami Atmanand said, "The Regional Formula means making Sikhistan of Punjab and Sikhistan means Khalistan. It being a border state, this conspiracy will not be allowed to succeed in Punjab."

The Regional Plan, thus, met with severe opposition from the Hindu sectarian groups and parties. The Government, too, was reluctant to implement it honestly on account of opposition from within. Faced with the opposition from the Hindu communal sections and unwillingness of the Punjab Government to enhance the status of Punjabi language, the Akalis once again renewed the demand for Punjabi Saba.

DEMAND FOR PUNJABI SUBA

Releasing the danger that the new policy of the Government posed to the separate identity of the Sikhs, Master Tara Singh revived the demand for the creation of Punjabi Suba. His landslide victory in the SGPC elections in 1960 convinced him of popular support to his demand. In order to give a concrete shape to popular feelings, Master Tara Singh launched an agitation for the creation of Punjabi Suba in May 1960¹³ in which over 57,000 people were arrested.¹⁴ It was during this struggle for the creation of a Punjabi Suba that Sant Fateh Singh appeared on the political scene. He introduced a new convincing note into the Akali agitation for the Punjabi Suba by presenting this demand on purely linguistic considerations.

"We are not concerned about percentage. We want the Punjabi Suba to comprise an area where Punjabi language is spoken regardless of the fact whether the Sikhs are in a majority or minority." This statement of Sant Fateh Singh reassured many Hindus and brought them to his view-point. When Sant Fateh Singh noticed that in spite of his having gained the confidence of the Hindus, the Congress Government stood firmly opposed to the Akali move, he decided to go on a fast unto death on December 18, 1960. Before starting his fast, the Sant is said to have advised the Sikhs to remain peaceful in case of any eventuality. "Every

particle of the country is ours and any damage to it is damage to ourselves" declared the Sant. On Decemer 31, 1966, the Prime Minister of India while maintaining that Punjabi was the main and dominant language of Punjab, declined to concede the demand for further division of the already truncated Punjab. However, the Sant was persuaded to break his fast on 22nd day of his fast on an assurance from the former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to concede the demands. Later, the Sant had three meetings with the Prime Minister on February 8, 1961, March 1, 1961 and May 12, 1961. In all these meetings, the Prime Minister assured him that the Government would do everything for flourishing of Punjabi language in Punjab. But so far as the demand of Punjabi Suba was concerned, the Prime Minister had the impression that it could not be justified from any point of view.

Master Tara Singh, who felt let down by Nehru and the Congress, now himself undertook a fast unto death on August 15, 1961 to press the demand for Punjabi Suba. The Prime Minister in his address to the nation on the eve of independence day made a special appeal to the people of Punjab not to be carried away by parochial feelings, mere emotions or wrong sentiments and reminded them that even a good thing becomes bad if wrong means are used to achieve it. On August 28, 1961, the Prime Minister stated.

"It has been repeatedly said that there was discrimination against the Sikhs. though instance of these have not been pointed out, I suggest, however, that if there was any such apprehension, a high level enquiry could be made into this matter to find out if there has been any such discrimination."

Master Tara Singh was also persuaded to break his fast after 48 days on October 1, 1961. On October 31, 1961, the Government passed a resolution

appointing a Commission and it was published in the Gazette of India on November 4, 1961. On November 9, 1961, the Working Committee of the Shiromani Akali Dal, however, passed the following resolution :

This meeting of the Shiromani Akali Dal Working Committee feels amazed at the attitude of the Government in forming a High-Power Commission, the personnel of which is completely different from that which was communicated to the negotiators, the mediators and Master Tara Singh. The Committee also regrets the attitude of the Government in keeping vague that real issue in terms of reference which led to the fast of Master Tara Singh, the question pertaining to the non-formation of the Punjabi-speaking State as a clear discrimination on a social plane. The Committee calls upon the Government to make due amends in their attitude in the spirit as shown during the course of negotiations by having mutually-agreed-to personnel of the Commission and consider the real issue so as to enable the Shiromani Akali Dal to co-operate with the Commission and thus put forward their case for a Punjabi-speaking State, a cause for which they have been struggling and for which they have suffered immensely and which is based on principles of equality and justice.

On the basis of the above resolution, the Akali Dal decided to boycott the Commission. Master Tara Singh was stated to have emphatically said that if the Commission's personnel were changed, the Akali Dal would be prepared to place its case for the Punjabi Suba. He further stated, "The only discrimination against the Sikhs was about the non-formation of the Punjabi Suba."

Some of the parties like the Punjab Hindi Raksha Samiti, the Haryana Lok Samiti, Arya Pradeshik Pratinidhi Sabha and the All-India Bhartiya Jana Sangh also put forward complaints of discrimination against their community (non-Sikhs). Shri

Abdul Gani Dar, MLA also submitted a memorandum complaining of discrimination against the Muslims.

The Commission gave its report on January 9, 1962, and found that there was no basis for any charge of discrimination against the Sikhs and came to the conclusion that Punjabi Suba was a camouflage for the demand of a Sikh State. Jawahar Lal Nehru did not fully appreciate the regional and linguistic aspirations. He mistakenly believed that the intermediate stage of linguistic based regional identities, perhaps be skipped in the nation-building process. If Partap Singh Kairon had championed the cause of a Punjabi-speaking state as Y.B Chavan did of Marathi-speaking state, he would have sounded a death knell of communal tendencies among sikhs as well as among Punjab Hindus. But it was not to be so. The failure to coerce the Government led to mutual recriminations among Akali leaders and division within the Akali Dal. The Akali Dal even lost some electoral support in the third General Elections. The division within the Akali Dal now deepened and finally in 1962, Sant Fateh Singh set up a rival Akali Dal against that of Master Tara Singh. As a result of the factional conflict in the Akali Dal, the demand for Punjabi Suba was relegated to the background for a few years.

It was again revived at a Conference of Master Akali Dal faction held at Ludhiana on July 4, 1965, which recalled that the Sikh people agreed to merge in the common Indian nationality on the explicit understanding of being accorded a constitutional status of co-sharers in the Indian sovereignty along with the majority community and that solemn undertaking now stood cynically repudiated by the Congress Government. Through a resolution, the Conference demanded the right of "Self-Determined Political Status" for the sikhs within the Indian Union.¹⁵

Not to be left behind by his rivals, Sant Fateh Singh also voiced his concern

for the creation of Punjabi-speaking state. In order to clearly demarcate himself from Master Tara Singh, Sant Fateh Singh demanded reorganisation of states on a linguistic basis. In this way, he wanted to get the support of the Hindus and the opposition parties for his case. But the differences in the approach of Sant Fateh Singh and Master Tara Singh was more apparent than real. In view of government's intransigence on the issue, Sant Fateh Singh was also forced to voice his concern over the alleged discrimination against the sikhs.

After the death of Jawaharlal Nehru on May 27, 1964. Partap Singh Kairon had to quit in June, 1964, following strictures passed against him by the Das Commission. Both these leaders were against the creation of Punjabi Suba. After the death of Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri became the Prime Minister who held talks with Sant Fateh Singh. He took the stand that the Government was ready to do anything for the advancement of Punjabi language and to look into Sikh grievances but felt that the issue of Punjabi Suba had been thoroughly examined before and there was no basis for its establishment. Then in August 1965 Sant Fateh Singh issued an ultimatum to the Government to accept the Suba demand within twentyfive days, otherwise he would undertake a ten-day fast on September 10, 1965. If the demand for Punjabi Suba was not accepted by the time of the end of his fast, he would immolate himself.¹⁶ But the central Congress leadership persuaded him to postpone his fast. From amongst the opponents of Punjabi Suba, there came threats of counter-fasts if the Government conceded the demand. Sikh leaders in the Congress party were themselves divided over the issue. Some fifteen Congress Sikh MLA's met to urge the Government to accept the Punjabi Suba demand,¹⁷ while other Sikh MLA's dissociated themselves from this stand.¹⁸

Meanwhile, the conflict with Pakistan took a violent form and, as it intensified in early September 1965, Akali leaders asked Sant Fateh Singh to give

up the idea of his proposed fast in view of the emergency facing the nation. Union Home Minister, Gulzari Lal Nanda also announced that "the whole question could be examined afresh." The Sant finally withdrew his threat of self-immolation and called upon the Punjabis in general and the Sikhs in particular to rise in the defence of the country. The contribution of the Sikhs to the defence of the country during Indo-Pak war, 1965 also created a favourable climate for the acceptance of the demand of Punjabi Suba.

THREE MEMBER CABINET COMMITTEE

Immediately after the ceasefire with Pakistan, Home Minister Gulzari Lal Nanda announced the establishment of a Three-Member Cabinet Committee which would, with the advice of a Consultative Committee drawn from among members of Parliament and headed by Lok Sabha Speaker, Hukam Singh¹⁹ seek a solution to State re-organisation in Punjab. There was a criticism of the Consultative Committee of MP's not only because it attempted to assume an independent role but also because its Chairman had been associated with the Akali Dal and the Punjabi Suba demand earlier²⁰. The Congress Government as well as the Congress party in the Punjab, though divided, officially stood for the retention of the status quo. The Jana Sangh continued to oppose any plan that would result in the division of Punjab. Meanwhile, the Congress High Command also started giving consideration to the Punjabi Suba issue²¹ and appointed a Three-Member Committee of its own, consisting of Kamaraj, Dhebar and Nanda, to help in the solution of the problem.

The Consultative Committee consisting of MP's was expected to submit its report by mid-March, 1966, but by the end of February, Sant Fateh Singh began to express dissatisfaction at the slow pace with which the work of the Committee was

proceeding and threatened to revive his plan of self-immolation unless a decision favouring the establishment of Punjabi Suba was made. Then, on March 9, 1966 the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution recommending that "out of the existing State of Punjab, a State with Punjabi as State language be formed. The Government is requested to take necessary steps for this purpose."²² Though Morarji Desai, Ram Subhag Singh and Biju Patnaik voted against the resolution, it clearly reflected the dominant trend in the organisation. The resolution was vehemently opposed by the Jana Sangh and it started an agitation for the continuation of the status quo in Punjab. Its general Secretary, Yagya Dutt Sharma, began a fast upto death and the agitation spread to various parts of the State.²³

The Consultative Parliamentary Committee submitted its report on March 18, 1965 recommending that the Punjabi-speaking region be constituted into unilingual Punjab State, that the hill areas be merged with Himachal Pradesh, and that the Haryana region be formed into a Haryana State.²⁴ On March 22, 1965, Home Minister Nanda announced in the the Lok Subha that the Government had accepted in principle the re-organisation of the State on linguistic basis²⁵, and on April 18, he stated that the Government proposed to create by October 1, 1966 two states, Punjab and Haryana, out of the existing State of Punjab while the hill areas contiguous to Himachal Pradesh would be merged in that State.

SHAH COMMISSION

Later on, a Three-Member Commission²⁶ headed by Justice J.C. Shah was appointed for the demarcation of the boundaries of Punjab on linguistic basis and it gave its report on June 5, 1966.

Two of the three members of the Commission recommended Chandigarh for Haryana. Una, Anandpur and Bhakra were given to Himachala Pradesh, Kharar

Tehsil was recommended for Haryana. The leadership of the Akali Dal was not happy with the report of Reorganisation Commission because Chandigarh and other Punjabi-speaking areas were left out of Punjab. Sant Fateh Singh raised his voice against this injustice and demanded their inclusion in Punjab. Master Tara Singh not only supported the stand of Sant Fateh Singh but is reported to have said "In fact I go a step further and demand an autonomous status for Punjab in order to provide a real Homeland for the sikhs.²⁷ It is evident that towards the end of his career, Master Tara Singh had become fully convinced that the problem of sikh identity could not be solved without the creation of sikh Hoeland. Gurdial Singh Dhillon threateneed to resign from his position. Kamraj, Darbara Singh and some other Central Ministers were in favour of giving Chandigarh to Punjab. But in June, 1966 Chandigarh was declared a Union Territory. In August 1966, Lok Sabha passed the Punjab Re-organisation Act. Speaking on the Bill, Bhupesh Gupta and Hiren Mukherjee (CPI) wanted Chandigarh to be given to Punjab and Peter Alvares (PSP) said it should be in Haryana. Opposing the Bill, Sardar Kapur Singh said :

The Sikhs cannot accept it because : (1) it is born of sin, (2) an untrained midwife has helped in its birth, and (3) it is against national interest and attacks national unity. This is the betrayal of the Sikhs who have protected the Hindu race.²⁸

After the enactment of Punjab Reorganisation Act, the state was reorganised into the present Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh on November 1, 1966, Creation of Punjabi Suba did not fully solve the Akali problem. Chandigarh and some other Punjabi-speaking areas were not transferred to Punjab and control of Bhakra Dam and some Headworks was taken over by the Centre. This gave the Akalis grouse to continue their agitation for getting these demands

In order to put pressure on the Union Government Sant Fateh Singh took conceded. fast unto death on December 17, 1966 and threatened to commit self-immolation on December 27, for the inclusion of Chandigarh and Punjabi-speaking areas to Punjab. Sant Fateh Singh broke the fast at the intervention of the then Speaker Hukam Singh who made an announcement at the Akal Takht on December 26, 1966, that Mrs Indira Gandhi would be made an arbiter and a Commission would be set up on the Punjabi-speaking areas.²⁹

The demand for the inclusion of Chandigarh into Punjab was revived in May, 1969 when Dr. Jagjit Singh, succeeded in persuading Darshan Singh Pheruman³⁰ to take fast unto death and accomplish the task which the Sant had left unfinished. Pheruman embarked upon the fast on August 15, 1969 with a firm determination to die unless Chandigarh and other claimed Punjabi-speaking areas were included in Punjab. Sant Fateh Singh and Justice Gurnam Singh the former Chief Minister of United Front Government in Punjab wrote letters to the Prime Minister for making good the commitments that the latter had made in December, 1966. Appeals were also made to Darshan Singh Pheruman by publicmen connected with different political parties, including the Prime Minister. But, he refused to break his fast. Pheruman died a martyr's death on October 27, 1969 after 74 days of continuous fasting.

Embarrassed Sant Fateh Singh gave an ultimatum to the Union Government that he would go on a fast unto death on January 26, 1970 and commit self-immolation by burning on February 1, 1970, if his demand for the inclusion of Chandigarh were not conceded.³¹ Complications were added by the stand taken by the people and Government of Haryana, claiming Chandigarh for themselves and insisting on the appointment of a Commission to look into their claims for the restoration of allegedly Hindu-speaking areas included in Punjab. The situation deteriorated so

much that on January 29, the Government of India gave its award.³² The terms of this Award were as under :-

1. Chandigarh would remain a Union Territory for another five years at the end of which it would be transferred to Punjab.
2. A part of Fazilka tehsil of Ferozepur district, including Abohar, was to go to Haryana although it was not contiguous to it. To provide contiguity, "a strip of territory of an average width of about one-furlong along the inter-state boundary between Punjab and Haryana in village Kandu Khera of Muktsar tehsil would also be transferred to Haryana.
3. A Commission would be appointed in consultation with the Governments of Punjab, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh to recommend territorial adjustments on the basis of contiguity of linguistic regions.
4. Transfer of Fazilka villages to Haryana would be made along with the implementation of recommendations on Chandigarh and the proposals of the Commission on territorial adjustments.
5. The Government of India would make a grant of Rs. 10 crores and a loan of Rs 10 crores to the Government of Haryana to construct its own capital within a period of five years.

The Sant and the Akali Dal welcomed the award and the Akali Dal Working Committee³³ requested the Sant to break his fast as his demands had been met, He broke his fast into death on January 30, 1970. It was not an award but a package deal between the Centre and the then Akali Dal dominated coalition Government in Punjab to save Sant Fateh Singh's life who had threatened to immolate himself unless Chandigarh was given to Punjab.

Anandpur Sahib Resolution

On October 16-17, 1973, Akali Dal adopted a new policy programme which was later on approved in the 18th All-India Akali Conference held at Ludhiana in 1978. Shiromani Akali Dal demanded the inclusion of all the Punjabi-speaking areas deliberately kept out of Punjab such as Delhousie in Gurdaspur District, Chandigarh, Pinjore-Kalka and Ambala in Ambala District, the entire Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur District, the 'Desh' area of Nalagarh, Shahabad and Gulha blocks of Karnal District, Tohana sub-tehsil, Ratia block and Sirsa tehsil of Hissar District and six tehsils of Ganganagar District in Rajasthan in order to constitute a single administrative unit where the interests of Sikhs and Sikhism were specifically protected.³⁴

The linguistic issue in Punjab remained in a comparative state of neglect for a few years between 1974 and 1980 partly owing to the declaration of emergency in India on June 26, 1975 and partly owing to the fact that the Akali Dal was in power in 1977. But when the Congress came to power in 1980, the Akalis immediately revived the issue in the form of charter of demands.

In September, 1981, Akali Dal submitted a list of 45 demands to the Union Government which included inclusion of Chandigarh and left out Punjabi-speaking areas to Punjab and re-adjustment of the State boundaries. Linguistic issues were again the most important items of the subsequent revised list of 15 demands submitted to the Union Government in October, 1981. On August 4, 1982, Shiromani Akali Dal launched a Dharm Yudh Morcha from Amritsar against the Government for getting justice for Punjab and Akali volunteers filled the jails.

In terms of the Rajiv-Longowal 11-point Agreement (which was signed between former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the then Akali Dal President, Sant Harchand Singh Longowal on July 24, 1985),³⁵ the territorial issue based on lan-

guage was to be settled according to the terms stipulated in Clause 7 of the Accord. Some of its stipulations are given below :-

The capital project area of Chandigarh will go to Punjab. Some adjoining areas which were previously part of Hindi or the Punjabi regions were included in the Union Territory with the capital region going to Punjab, the areas which were added to the Union Territory from the Punjab region of the erstwhile State of Punjab, will be transferred to Punjab and those from Hindi region to Haryana. The entire Sukhna lake will be kept as part of Chandigarh and will thus go to Punjab (Para 7.1).

A Commission will be constituted to determine the specific Hindi-Speaking areas of Punjab which should go to Haryana, in the lieu of Chandigarh. The principle of contiguity and linguistic affinity with a village as a unit will be the basis of such determination. The Commission will be required to give its findings by December 31, 1985. The actual transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab and areas in lieu thereof to Haryana will take place simultaneously on January 26, 1986 (Para 7.3).

The Unified Akali Dal and All India Sikh Students Federation (A.I.S.S.F.) rejected the Punjab Accord. Senior leaders of the Akali Dal (L) namely, Parkash Singh Badal and Gurcharan Singh Tohra criticised almost all the points of the Accord and demonstrated their disappointment by tearing up the copies of the agreement into pieces in the meeting held on July 27, 1985 at Anandpur Sahib.¹⁹

As per the provisions of Punjab Accord, a Commission headed by K.K. Mathew, a former Judge of the Supreme Court was set up by the Government of India on August 20, 1985. to determine the specific Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab which should go to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. The criteria to be applied were the principle of contiguity and linguistic affinity with village as a unit.²⁰ The

Terms of Reference of Methew Commission clearly went beyond the terms of the Punjab Accord signed by the Prime Minister, when a specific clause of "other factors" apart from the three guiding principles of linguistic affinity, territorial contiguity and village as a unit were included in it. The Akali Dal in Punjab protested against this. The Mathew Commission thus failed to perform its assigned task. It failed to identify Hindi-speaking areas of Punjab to be transferred to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh.

VENKATARAMIAH COMMISSION, 1986

On April 2, 1986, Venkataramiah Commission was appointed by the Government of India to determine afresh Hindi-speaking village of Punjab for transfer to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. The Commission was to follow the three principles of contiguity - linguistic affinity and village as a unit as stipulated in the Punjab Accord. The Commission was asked to submit its report by May 31, 1986.

In its report the ventataramiah Commission suggested that Haryana should be given administrative powers over villages and towns measuring in all atleast 70,000 acres, which was about one-fourth of the total area of Fazilka and Abohar. It meant that as many villages and towns as are necessary to make up 70,000 acres of land should be transferred from Punjab to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. The Commission expressed its inability to identify specific villages to be transferred. To identify these Hindi-speaking villages, the Commission recommended the appointment of another Commission.

DESAI COMMISSION, 1986

On June 20, 1986, the Union Government constituted another Commission headed by Desai for identifying about 70,000 acres of Punjab land to be transferred simultaneously to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh. It was asked to submit its report

not later than the forenoon of June 21, 1986, but later on, the time schedule for submission of Desai's report was extended to July 15, 1986.

The Punjab Cabinet took strong exception to the Commission's Terms of Reference which, it said, had omitted the most important provision that only Hindi-speaking areas were to be transferred in lieu of Chandigarh. It regretted that while that constituting Desai Commission, the Centre had ignored the Terms of Reference as provided in Para 7.4 of the Punjab Accord, namely contiguity, linguistic affinity and village as a unit.

The Union Government amended Desai's Commission's Terms of Reference and made it clear that the Commission would consider transferring 45,000 acres i.e. 30 villages already identifying by the Venkataramiah Commission. The Desai Commission was also directed by the Union Government to keep in view the terms mentioned in Para 7.4 of Punjab Accord.

The Punjab Government decided to ignore the changes made by the Centre and thereby created a total "deadlock". Under the circumstances, the Desai Commission did not function and the entire Chandigarh issue came to standstill.

References

1. The position of Urdu, however, was limited to the male Punjabi population of the province. Among non- Muslim women, Urdu was not so well known. Hindi was rather widely known among the urban Hindus because of the influence of the Arya Samaj. In the rural areas, although the number of literate women was very small, the knowledge of Gurmukhi script was rather more widely prevalent, irrespective of the religious affiliations. For details, see Satya M. Rai, *Punjab Since Independence*, Delhi : Durga Publications, 1986, p.253.
2. Amarnath Vidalankar, *Bahmi Itihad Aur Regional Formula*, Jallandhar, 1956, p. 76.

3. A.C. Kapoor, *The Punjab Crisis*, New Delhi 1985 p. 153.
4. Master Tars Singh admitted that Giani Kartar Singh was the real brain behind this demand. Jaswant Singh (ed) *Master Tara Singh*, Amritsar : Hardas Printing Press, 1972 p.51.
5. Satya M. Rai, *n.1*, p. 309.
6. Naranjan Singh, *Papers Relating to Hindu Agitation in Punjab*, Chandigarh, Public Relations Department, 1957, p.11. The proposals were signed by Bhim Sen Sachar, Gopi Chand Bhargava, Ujjal Singh and Kartar Singh.
7. *Akali Patrika*, October 22, 1949.
8. *Ibid.*, January 23, 1951.
9. For details, see Memorandum to State Reorganisation Commission, Amritsar, n-d, pp3-4
10. *The Tribune*, March 16, 1956.
11. Harbans Singh, *The Heritage of the Sikhs*, Delhi : Manohar Publications, 1983 p.302.
12. Kahitish *Storm in Punjab*, Delhi : The World Publication, 1981, pp 118-119.
13. In order to thwart the agitation, Master Tara Singh was arrested by the Punjab Government and kept under preventive detention for arousing the religious sentiments of the Sikhs against the Hindus. He was to lead the first Sahidi Jatha to Delhi.
14. The Government on the contrary had maintained that only 23,000 men were arrested. Khushwant Singh, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. II, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1977, p.299.
15. Ajit Singh Sarhadi, *Punjabi Suba*, Delhi : U.S Kapur and Sons, 1970 p. 402.
16. *The Tribune*, August 17, 1965.
17. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1965.
18. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1965
19. *Ibid.*, September 24, 1965.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1966.
22. *Hindu Weekly Review*, March 14, 1966.
23. Stayal Pal Dang, "Punjabi Suba Movement," a paper presented at a Seminar in Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, January 26-28, 1982 (unpublished).
24. *Hindu Weekly Review*, March 21, 1966.
25. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1966.
26. *Justice J.C. Shah as Chairman with Subimal Dutt and M.M. Phillip as members was appointed for demarcation of the boundaries.*
27. Ajit Singh Srhadi, *n.15*, p.455.
28. Kapur Singh, *Great Betrayal of the Sikhs*, Chandigarh, (n.d.), p.7.
29. Pandit Mohan Lal, *Disintegration of Punjab*, Chandigarh : Sameer Prakashan, 1984, p.370.
30. Darshan Singh Pheruman (1886-1969) had a long record of service to the national cause. He

joined the Akali Dal in 1920 for the liberation of Gurdwaras from the Mahants. Later, he joined the Congress and held important offices in the organisation and was elected to Rajya Sabha for a number of terms (1951-1964), but he had lately resigned from the Congress to join the Swantantra party, of which he was the President in Punjab. He did not count much politically at the time of undertaking the fast, but commanded great respect on the basis of his past record. Quoted in J.C. Anand, "*Punjab : Politics of Retreating Communalism*", Iqbal Narain (ed.), *State Politics in India*, Meerut : Meenakshi Prakashan, 1976, p.283.

31. *The Tribune*, November 25, 1969.
32. *The Tribune*, January 30, 1970
33. *The Tribune*, February 1, 1970.
34. *The Draft of New Policy Programmes of Shiromani Akali Dal* (adopted by its Working Committee at its meeting held at Anandpur Sahib on October 16-17, 1973), Amritsar : Jaspal Printing Press, 1977, p.20.
35. For details, see the Text of Punjab Accord signed by Former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and late Sant Harchand Singh Longowal on July 24, 1985.

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New Controversy Over Governors

The use of State Governors as instruments for promoting political aims has been a familiar practice during the past few years. Another dimension to the issue has been added by the relatively new practice of changing Governors with a switch of the Government at the Centre. The proposition under discussion is: "The practice of changing Governors of States with every change of government at the Centre is unfair, unethical and smacks of political pollution."

Mr A Sir, during the past decade or so there has been a great deal of controversy over the selection and role of Governors, the use of Raj Bhavans as centres of political activity in favour of the ruling party, the imposition of these dignitaries on States by the Centre without consulting, and securing the consent of, the Chief Minister concerned, the trend of inducting retired officials, defeated party candidates and the predominance of extraneous considerations. At times, ambitious party legislators who cannot be accommodated in the ministry but who must be given cosy berths as a reward for services rendered to the party are appointed. In violation of the norms, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Mrs Indira Gandhi made it a practice to select pliant Governors who would always obey the Central leadership and act as hatchetmen for dismissing opposition ministries and recommending President's rule whenever the Centre wanted to "discipline" the opposition party concerned. Naturally, the opposition parties in the country have protested against this practice. But even more objectionable and totally indefensible is the new "doctrine" enunciated by some prominent leaders of the National Front now governing the

country. On the advice of the Prime Minister, the President of India recently called for the voluntary resignations of all State Governors. The explanation given was that with the highly significant change of government at the Centre, it was advisable that the Governors should also be changed because most of them had been appointed by the previous regime and owed their position to the Congress (I). Accordingly, the Governors sent in their resignations. Three of them (those of Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Delhi) have already been replaced by persons who were considered more suitable for the posts. This trafficking in Governors and treating them as political appointees, and therefore changing them when a new government takes office, obviously has political motives. In effect, it lowers the dignity of the high post of State Governor. India's ambassadors fall in a different category; as normal and widely accepted practice, they submit their resignations when a new government takes over. A change in the complexion of the Government at the Centre implies that a different or somewhat modified foreign policy is likely to be pursued. Quite often, the emphasis on certain aspects is changed and a new policy line adopted. But Governors are Constitutional functionaries and are supposed to be above politics. No wonder Mr V.K. Krishna Iyer, a former Supreme Court judge, has described the practice of changing Governors in this way as "political pollution". I believe everyone who swears by the Constitution and supports healthy conventions will agree with the proposition before the House. Such change of Governors smacks of political vendette.

Mr B I think it is unfair to

describe the move to change Governors with the assumption of office by a new party at the Centre as "trafficking in Governors". Since a State Governor is required by the Constitution to perform the functions of Executive head of the State and he is appointed by the President and holds office during his pleasure (that is, the pleasure of the Union Council of Ministers), it is necessary that he should not be actively associated with the policy and programme of a party ousted from power by the electorate. Governors hold key positions, and there is every possibility of a State Governor adopting a policy line that is different from that favoured by the new party governing the country. He may even defy Central directives. Such a situation would tantamount to a constitutional crisis, fully warranting dismissal of the erring Governor. Complications of this type and other unforeseen contingencies in respect of the actions taken by the Governor should certainly be avoided. This is easily accomplished by having Governors who subscribe to the same political ideology as the party in power at the Centre. That is why the National Front Government decided to ask for the resignations of Governors. But this does not mean that all the Governors would be changed. Another aim—and this too seems unexceptionable to me—was to weed out those Governors who had become controversial because of their partisan decisions, or those who are considered unfit to hold the high office because of the considerations that governed their appointment—sheer favouritism, the desire to accommodate discredited politicians who had been rejected by the electorate at a previous election. I would also like to draw the attention of this House to one of the guidelines informally adopted on January 29.

this year at a meeting between the President of India and the Union Home Minister. They decided that non-Congress candidates who had suffered defeat in the recent elections would not be appointed Governors. In my view, the Union Home Minister, apparently at the instance of Prime Minister V.P. Singh, did well to discuss this issue with the President. This was never done, so far as the people know, by Mr Rajiv Gandhi and former Home Minister Buta Singh. Moreover, as those familiar with the practice adopted in the U.S.A. will bear me out, the Governors in that leading democracy submit their resignations with the change of the President. There is certainly some merit in this practice. I think the stand taken by the National Front Government that a new set of Governors in tune with the thinking of the new Government is desirable, needs favourable consideration.

Mr C It seems to me that my predecessor, Mr B, is trying to defend the indefensible. If we accept the policy and the dictum enunciated by the National Government leaders that there should be a new set of Governors whenever there is a change in the complexion of the Central Government, there would be confusing, and possibly untenable, situations. In fact, if the new dictum is closely examined, it would appear that the Front leaders are now attempting to perpetuate the very practice they profess to abolish, namely, the induction of Governors who are pliant, flexible in character and wholly subservient to the Centre. It is a question of general approach to the issue. If the Centre feels that it must have an obedient Governor in each State to ensure its full control, and therefore the appointees must be "in tune with the policy of the ruling party", frequent changes at the high level would become unavoidable. In France, it is said, every other person is a former Minister. In that country ministries changed very frequently until recently, and there was a

regular traffic of incomers and outgoers. That caused a lot of confusion and few people knew whose politics were in force at a particular time. There would be a host of ex-Governors in this country. The Governor, according to the Constitution, has strictly formal functions to perform, except of course in an Emergency declared by the Union President under Article 356 when there is Presidential, in effect, the Governor's rule and he is all in all. But far more important than the considerations that weigh with the appointing authority (the President acting on the advice of the Union Council of Ministers; and not in his discretion) are the criteria recommended by the Sarkaria Commission which made an exhaustive study of the working of the Centre-State relations. Four of these criteria deserve special mention: the person selected for a gubernatorial post must be eminent in some walk of life, he should be a person from outside the State to which he is posted, he should be a detached figure and not too intimately connected with the local politics of the State, and should be a person who has not taken too great a part in politics generally, particularly in the recent past. Fully supporting these criteria, Mr Justice Krishna Iyer has also suggested that a politician from the ruling party at the Centre should not be appointed Governor of a State being run by some other party or a combination of parties. Otherwise, there would be conflicts and avoidable tensions. Justice Iyer has also expressed the opinion that former Prime Ministers Mrs Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi flouted every rule of propriety set out in this connection. They cared little for Constitutional proprieties.

Mr D My friend Mr C has made some pertinent observations. In fact, he rightly quoted the Sarkaria Commission's recommendations which I fully support and which I wanted to quote myself to support my views. If, instead of letting every Governor have the five-year term envisaged in Article

156(3), the ruling party at the Centre takes undue advantage of the provision that says that the Governor will hold office during the pleasure of the President (which obviously means the Council of Ministers under whose advice the President makes all appointments) many eminently qualified people will not accept the post. Only those who are hungry for office, especially sinecures, will readily accept an appointment. The country would be the loser in such cases because there would be unfit or mediocre Governors in many States. The most suitable persons would prefer not to become playthings of party politics. They would prefer not to lose their dignity. As long as a Governor acts constitutionally and not in a partisan manner as some indeed did (Mr Ram Lal in Andhra Pradesh, for example), he or she should not be asked to quit. A Governor is supposed to be a dependable guide and counsellor but if he acquires the reputation of being a mere agent and deputy of the party in power, he will lose the people's respect. Politician-Governors bring discredit and even disgrace to this exalted office. They should neither be made political scapegoats nor trifled with. As for the suggestion that the Centre must not impose a Governor on any State and must consult the Chief Minister concerned, I think this is a healthy convention. After all, the Governor has to act on the advice of the Chief Minister (except in emergency and any other extraordinary contingency). Let us assess the situation in J & K where Mr Jagmohan was reappointed Governor despite Dr Farooq Abdullah's strong protest. In such cases we may expect confrontations and conflicts at the highest level. But in the case of West Bengal, the Central Government has apparently acted on the advice of Chief Minister Jyoti Basu and decided to reappoint Mr Nurul Hasan who had earlier been shifted to Orissa as Governor. It is time the dignity of Governors was restored.

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The purpose of this paper is to focus attention on varied types of leadership that has emerged since independence. Reviewing the working of Indian polity for the last four/five decades a broad typology of emerging leaders can be drawn. This typology of emerging leaders rests on two basis. These are first, source of their origin and influence and second means of their rise. First attempts to give the answer to the question from where the leadership come? And second, how they come? There is no rigid compartmentalization of these types. One type may overlap into the other. There can be a leader combining in him the characteristics of more than one type. For instance, he may basically be a film star and thus be a leader coming from silver screen but at the sametime he may be blue eyed boy of the region. Consequently he will be a regional as well as celluliod leader.

The types are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

¶1) The first type that has produced influential political leaders has its origin in the family or hereditary background. Once a family produced an influential, popular and dominant leader that remained on political scene for a sizeable period of time, bequeathed its goodwill for the posterity. The inheritors had no difficulty in picking up the thread and stepping into the shoes of their immediate ancestors. In this way leadership pass on from generation to generation. The instances are Nehru family at the centre, Abdullah family in J & K, Mishras in Bihar, Tripathis in U.P., Choudhry Charan Singh family in western UP, Bansi Lal family and Devi Lal family in Haryana.

Ex-rulers and chieftains of princely states who wielded influence among their erstwhile subjects also had little difficulty in winning elections to State assemblies and Lok Sabha once they decided to enter politics. In this way when their states were

converted into post-independence constituencies many of them who had political ambitions emerged as political leaders of their respective constituencies. Karan Singh, Madho Rao Scindia, Dinesh Singh, Capt. Amarinder Singh, Virbhadar Singh etc. are examples nearer home.

(2) Caste has been a dominant factor in Indian politics. Many political leaders get their sustenance from the caste they belong to. They play up caste sentiments to gain political power. They get recognition from the political parties who are out to appease and accommodate them in distributing party tickets and ministerial berths. We have Jat, Brahmin, Ahir, Ror, Gujar, Bania, Bishoni and Harijan leaders as in Haryana. Different regions in the country have different castes and clans with their own leaders. Such leaders command lot of respect and following in their own caste.

(3) Religion has thrown up many political leaders. Inspite of the secular character of the state source of many political leaders is religion. In order to gain their political ends they raise many religious bogeys and communal slogans. Akali leaders, Shiv Sena leaders, Arya Samaji leaders, Muslim leaders and RSS leaders come under this category. Syed Shahabuddin is the most striking example of the day.

(4) Popular film stars having innumerable fans find no difficulty in assuming the role of political leader in real life. In their case the ground work is prepared by their admirers far and wide. The phenomenon of celluloide politicians is mostly prevalent in southern states that have produced M.G.Ramachandran, N.T.Ramarao, Jayalalitha, Vijayantimala etc. The phenomena has also touched hindi film stars though to a lesser extent. Sunil Dutt and Amitabh Bachan can be cited as an example.

(5) Student unions operating both in universities and colleges also serve as nurseries of budding political leaders. From unions they go to the youth wings of different political parties for their graduation and training. Those having considerable influence and following are hand-picked by their political mentors. These unions start various agitations to gain prominence in political circles and to project the image

on their young leader. In many cases their agitations gather momentum and win public sympathy that they cash in at the time of hustings. The present Assam Chief Minister Prafulla Kumar Mohanta and many of his ministerial colleagues belong to this category. In almost every state couple of such youth leaders are either in government or on the opposition benches. Even the political parties encourage and train them with a view to keeping the youth under their thumb. With the proposed lower voting age of eighteen years will give further impetus to this phenomena.

(6) Muscle power and bullying also have their share in producing political leaders in different parts of the country. A handful of them believes in violent means and take to the gun. They raise their own armed gangs and groups to intimidate the weak. They do have links in foreign lands for the supply of arms, ammunition and funds. ~~They do have links in foreign lands~~ They spread hatred against a particular community and assume the role of self-style saviour and protector of their own. They carved out a prominent place for themselves in their community or region and thus become their political leader. Bhindernwale, Phizo, Laldenga, Subash Ghising represent this category.

(7) Arousing the regional feelings is the strong point of the regional leaders. ^{e.g., they raise such issues as regional language, regional} To serve their narrow identity, regional disparity etc. They adopt a critical attitude towards the centre and hold it responsible for all their problems. They claim the potentialities of delivering the goods in a better and effective manner than the distant centre. They also put forward the demand for greater autonomy for states and larger chunk out of the divisible pool of financial resources. They do succeed in winning over regional sympathy and popularity that in its turn enables them to gain power at the state level. M.Karunanidhi, Farooq Abdullah, NT Rama Rao, Prafulla Kumar Mohanta, Devi Lal have their origin in regional politics. They have their regional parties to back them.

(8) Since the days of independence movement lawyers and doctors have been in the forefront of ~~politics~~ politics. They

represented the enlightened element of the masses and played a very significant role in making them. They still hold important assignments in different political parties. Political leaders have also emerged from among the teachers, workers unions, kisan unions, Karamchari Sanghs etc. Mohinder Singh Tikait, Dutta Samant, S.S.Ray etc. represent this species.

(9) Big businessmen, industrial magnets and big financial tycoons have also their share in political leadership. Land-lords from the rural areas did not lag behind. They are the acknowledged leaders of the rural folk that looks to them for the redressal of their grievances. They still command influence among them. Every political party wooes this rich class in order to extract money from them for electioneering. By virtue of their large purse they become political heavy weights in party politics. Balram Jakhar, Parkash Singh Badal, DD Puri, Rao Birender Singh etc belong to this type.

(10) There is a medley of other types of leaders in addition to the categories mentioned above. Some party workers rise from the ranks by dint of their hard work, sincerity and consistent loyalty to the party. They are as a matter of fact grassroots leaders from the masses who go up the ~~latt~~ ladder step by step. They are different from leaders that are super imposed. Some leaders are the by-product of a split or ~~dissidence~~ they emanate from dissident groups. The split or dissidence ~~exp~~ proves a blessing in disguise for them. Sometimes regional or small party leaders are catapulted to the stature of national leaders as a result of merger of their parties or forging of an alliance or front. Luck, fluke and charisma have also favoured some politicians to ascend to leadership. Political leadership has also smiled on retired military officers and bureaucrats. On the basis of their sphere of activity and influence one finds a dichotomy of political leadership, for instance local, regional, national, international; rural and urban.

To conclude, the political canvas in India has warp and woof of the cross section of the society. It is a robust and

healthy scenario. However, family or dynasty, caste, religion, regionalism and money based leaders have always had an upperhand in dominating the political scene for a long time. This pattern of leadership is detrimental to the secular, democratic, socialist and integrated India. These types are not conclusive in themselves. There can be other varieties based on different criteria. The types discussed have their merits and demerits but the same have been kept out of the scope of this paper.

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SUB-REGIONAL
THE STATE AUTONOMY COMMITTEE REPORT AND THE SINCERITY OF
THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE LEADERSHIP : *Dr Vidya Bhushan

Soon after the establishment of popular Government in J & K way back in 1947 which resulted into the shift of political power from Jammu to valley, the idea of the Regional Autonomy was mooted at different fora in Jammu. The discriminatory attitude of the National Conference Government towards Jammu region, which led to the formation of the All J & K Praja Parishad - a Jammu based political party gave air to the complaint of discrimination to the people of Jammu region. An intellectual group led by Mr. Balraj Puri in Jammu demanded that whatever measure of autonomy had been promised to the State within India with the proviso that on similar grounds autonomy to Jammu be conceded with the State. Mr. Kushak Bakala - the head Lama of Ladakh - in a memorandum submitted to Sheikh Abdullah in March, 1952 stressed that Ladakh would largely bear the same relation to the State as the latter did to India. Inhabitants of Doda District too emphasised that they had peculiar local problems and historically, geographically and culturally were quite different from their neighbouring unit of Jammu. They stressed that Doda must be given the status of separate cultural unit. They then demanded that the State to be divided into as many as five cultural units - Kashmir, Jammu, Poonch - Rajouri, Ladakh and Doda - in the constitutional set up J & K State and each unit legally, having equal status, would enjoy autonomy in the conduct of their internal affairs including maintenance of Law and order within their limits.

In order to release pressure built up by constant demand of different ethno-cultural-linguistic groups living

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in different regions of the State Mirza Mohd. Afzal Beg - the then Chairman of the Basic Principles Committee of J & K Council announced that "the State of J & K would be an autonomous Republic within Indian Union with a separate President, National Assembly, Judiciary, Regional Autonomy and separate citizenship." ^{cast} Broading from Radio Kashmir Srinagar on April 17, 1953, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah - the then Prime Minister of the State declared "we have decided to give autonomy to the different cultural units of the State..." The proposed cultural units were - the Valley, Jammu, Gilgit, Ladakh and a region consisting of district of Mirpur, Rajouri, Poonch and Muzzafarabad. The idea seemed to be that a measure of autonomy in their internal affairs, would remove the fears of each of these units and would provide a moral, natural and non-communal impetus for a sense of belonging and political participation. They also believed that such a sense of belonging alone could effectively counter the appeals for secession in the valley and communalism in Jammu.

Although Praja Parishad and Bhartiya Jana Sangh which always stood for Akhand Bharat, abrogation of Act 370 of the Constitution of India and complete merger of J & K State with Indian Union like other princely states, yet their leaders like Dr S.P. Mukerjee at one stage veered around the idea of Regional Autonomy. In his letter to Pt. Nehru of February 17, 1953 he offered to withdraw the then ongoing Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu and accept the Delhi Agreement of 1952 if the principle of Autonomy would "apply to the province of Jammu as a whole and of course to ~~Ladakh~~ Ladakh and Kashmir valley. Even Pt. Nehru announced "the State Government was considering

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grant of autonomy to its regions, particularly ^{to} Jammu while framing the Constitution of the State." A Sub-Committee of the State Assembly comprising M/S D.P. Dhar, Syed Mir Qasim and G.L. Dogra recommended "a substantial measure of autonomy for each region with power of Taxation and Legislation." The National Conference leadership at that time seemed to be sincere and serious and was ready to concede the demand of Regional Autonomy to different cultural units of the State. But the constitutional crisis of 1953, which led to the dismissal of first popularly elected State Government and subsequent arrest of Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah created entirely a new political situation in the State. All the subsequent National Conference Governments did ^{not} bother much in the implementation of these schemes. As a result the problem of regional imbalances irritants and tensions has taken a serious turn.

Later on Mr. P.N. Bazaz, Shamim Ahmed Shamim, Khawaja Mubarak Shah, Jaya Prakash Narayan and ^a few others strongly advocated for the grant of Regional Autonomy to the different regions of the State from time to time.

The question of grant of Regional Autonomy was, however, debated in People's Convention held in 1968. After a serious thought it envisaged elected Regional Council with Executive Councillors. The then National Conference leadership gave cold shoulders to its recommendations. Later on when Dr P.B. Ganjandragadkar Commission, recommended that "a convention should be established that if the Chief Minister belonged to one region, there should be Dy. Chief Minister from the other, the number of the Cabinet Ministers belonging

to two regions should be equal and a full fledged Cabinet Minister belonging to Ladakh, the functions of each Head of Department should be divided on regional basis. Each Department should have a head and an additional Head. One should function in one region and the other in other region, when ^{High Court} ~~.....~~ of J & K would ^{be} stationed at Jammu, there should be at least one H.C. Judge at Srinagar. The same should ^{happen} when H.C. would be at Srinagar etc." Some of the major recommendations of the Commission have not ^{been} implemented till date by the National Conference Leadership.

As a result of Indira - Sheikh Accord of 1975, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah came in power once again after about 21 years. In July 1977 Assembly Elections National Conference, headed by Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah returned with clear mandate of the people. During the seven years that he lived after ^{his} second time, his Single Line Administration assuming policy over showed the demand of Regional Autonomy." No serious attempt had been made ^{to} implement his commitment of granting Regional Autonomy to different regions of the State. Although the main purpose of Single Line Administration Policy was to ensure the involvement of local people in economic growth and also to give them training in the process of democratization, yet it could ^{not} substitute the demand of Regional Autonomy from different regions. It is, therefore, rightly inferred that he had deliberately delayed the implementation of his commitment in this direction.

Rather in 1978-79 when an agitation was launched in Jammu for the political and constitutional safeguards for the Jammu region, Sheikh Abdullah reacted sharply. When Dr Karan Singh warned that "If Jammu's regional problems were not

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tackled with understanding and imagination, it would lead to separation of the Jammu region from the Kashmir valley," Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah retorted :

"If the majority of people in the Jammu region believed that they can progress by carving out a separate State of Jammu, then there is nothing to stop them and we must part as friends."

All this creates doubts in the minds of the people of the different regions about the sincerity of the National Conference leadership about the demand of Regional Autonomy raised in Jammu and Ladakh regions.

Even during first phase of Dr Farooq Abdullah's regime from September 1982 to July 1984 nothing substantial had been done in this direction. Same happened during the tenure of Mr. G.M. Shah from July 1984 to November 1986 when he formed Government, with Congress support.

As a result of Rajive - Farooq Accord of November 7, 1986 the coalition ministry headed by Dr Farooq Abdullah was formed in the State. During this period too the National Conference leadership did not bother much. Rather National Conference Government for quite long even opposed the demand of (L.B.A) for the grant of Autonomous Hill Council to Leh, which they ultimately got after great sacrifice. There are complaints from the people of Leh that the Autonomous Hill Council is being not allowed to function independently.

Balraj Puri rightly pointed out that the basic feature of Regional Autonomy is sharing of power and functions between the central authority and its constituent parts. The

National Conference leadership since 1947 did not follow this basic principle sincerely and honestly. That is why there is still resentment among the people of Jammu & Ladakh regions. They believe that both these regions have been reduced to the colonial status.

Without going into the details of the recommendations of the State Regional Committee Report at regional level, the general feelings of the masses in Jammu and Ladakh regions are that National Conference leadership is more concerned with State Autonomy vis-a-vis Centre. But so far as the Autonomy at the State level i.e. autonomy of the regions within the State, they may not be much serious as in the past. The past history shows that all the National Conference governments irrespective of Chief Ministers, sabotaged all moves for sharing political powers with the people of the Jammu and Ladakh regions. That is why some of intellectuals in Jammu ^{also} still demanding trifurcation of the J & K State and a few other prominent organisations raising a demand for splitting the State of J & K. They believe that this State Regional Autonomy Committee Report - granting autonomy to the regions within the State will meet the same fate as happened in the past.

The doubts are being created in the minds of common man particularly from Jammu and Ladakh regions because Sub-Regional State Autonomy Committee Report is unilateral as the oppositions, intellectuals, representatives of various groups, political figures and prominent leaders from all the three regions were not involved in such a process; the report

approved by only three out of the six original members of the Committee, disingenuous attempt to divide State into eight regions against three at present as well as to divide Jammu province into three regions on religious lines, removal of Mr. Balraj Puri- Working Chairman of the Committee without any susntantial reason just before the submission of report and sinister attempt to keep autonomy and Azadi options alive. It is, therefore, rightly infered that sub-regional State Autonomy Committee report is a one party affairs, not finding favour in broader tapestry of national interests, against the interest of a common man, utopian in character and misleading and be-fooling the common masses.

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Vol. XIII

No. 2

1995



Off-Print of :

Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati's Educational Thoughts —An Analysis

SHEETAL GUPTA

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Printed at : CLASSIC PRINTERS, National Highway Bari Brahmanga, Jammu.

Published by Registrar, University of Jammu, Jammu. (J & K) India.
Issued by Director, Department of Information and Public Relations, University of Jammu, Jammu.

Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati's Educational Thoughts—An Analysis

Dr. Sheetal Gupta*

Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati, being six feet and six inches tall¹, a great hero with the athletic strength of Hercules², the most illustrious, intellectual, gifted with an exceptional power of knowledge³, learned Sanskrit scholar, a religious preceptor⁴, a deeper metaphysician⁵, a wonderful and forceful creator,⁶ effective writer⁷, fearless denunciator of evils, a true patriot, preserver and protector of Vedic culture with new interpretations⁸, was not only the founder of Arya Samaj Movement⁹, head and shoulders above all the greatmen of the world¹⁰ but also one of the great figures of Indian History in the last century¹¹. He preached equality of men from the house-top. The freedom of thought and action was his watch-word and a piece of loin cloth was only as his whole worldly possession¹². He proclaimed that the Vedas and Vedic Literature belonged to the entire humanity and thus had universal relevance for all times to come¹³. He was reviled, stoned and persecuted—even poisoned to death like Socrates. As his vision of the future was clear, his diagnosis of the ills from which the Indian body-politic suffered was perfect, he not only saw far ahead of his times but tried to provide remedies for the sufferings of our society.

His earnest desire to dispel ignorance and spread light made him a great champion of the cause of education. He desired that the Indian society to be vigorously dynamic

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and for that purpose he envisaged an educational programme based on the spirit of synthesis of the ancient spiritual heritage with modern scientific attitude. Believing that Lord Macaulay's system of education had compelled Indians to forget altogether their origin and their civilization from which other civilizations of the world derived their lot, he advocated the vedic system of education. He actually wanted to reconstruct the Indian education system on the basis of Vedic knowledge so that India might regain the glory of its ancestors.

Education was not an isolated thing for him, but [the part of an organic whole and a social activity. He pointed out that a system of education that did not take into account the real state of society was not true education¹⁶. He was so much particular about the cause of education that he has explained his educational thoughts in two chapter of his famous work SATYARTHA PRAKASH—magnum opus¹⁷. A part of chapter second and entire third chapter have been devoted for this purpose.

AIMS OF EDUCATION

While discussing the aims of education Swami ji pointed out that as the pursuit of truth and attainment of wisdom are the greatest ideals of life and the aim of living and learning is to develop the natural man into the ideal man, the aim of the education should be to help students in their exploration of ultimate universal values so that the truth of the universe may become their truth and give power to their life. The children should therefore be adorned with good education, nobility of character, refinement of manners and amiability of temper. The complete realisation of these values should be ultimate goal of man and the education system should help them in their pursuit¹⁸. He rightly said "Blessed are the men or women whose minds are centred on the acquisition of knowledge, who possess sweet and amiable temper, who cultivate truthfulness and other similar virtues¹⁹".

While stressing the spiritual development as one of the aims of education, Swami Ji points out that the basic purpose of education is to enlighten the individual about the divine order and his place in it through the study of Vedas²⁰. Spiritual refinement of the pupil and polish and grace should therefore be ultimate goal of education.

As ethical principle of life and character building had been the essence of Indian education during Vedic period, the mere intellectual attainments are of no worth, if the

person is devoid of moral feelings and character. He therefore, blessed those men and women who were of good character²². He was of the view that the constructive criticism also led to the formation of good character²³. He added that virtues be inculcated among the students by living a life of industry, self-control, perseverance, penance, self-abnegation, temperance and continence²⁴.

Swami Ji was also of the view that education should be pursued and not for any public office or lucrative job²⁵. He defined knowledge as to know a thing exactly as it is. He added that pursuit of knowledge was as necessary as pursuit of food. According to him, "A fool may have food and may die simply because he has no knowledge as to how to use it²⁶". Thus, achievement of personality and appreciation of values, will become a reality with growing knowledge of the spiritual universe²⁷. He was of the view that the true knowledge is something more than mere imparting and learning of facts. He says "a person mugging up facts without assimilation is like a donkey carrying a load of sandalwood but not knowing the nature of sandalwood²⁸". The acquisition of knowledge has, therefore, had an essential place in the process of education.

While referring to the preparing students for good life as another aim of education, he said that only those were fit to be the members of a noble and organise community who had learnt in their school days a lesson of simple living and high thinking and discipline. He stressed that the structure of a society should be such that every-one learnt a profession which was not only useful to him but to the society as a whole²⁹.

In short the aims of education, according to him, should to produce a personality so well integrated that a student had intellectual calibre, realise spiritual values, maintain adequate control over emotional impulses and feelings, enjoy social happiness, possess good character and a creative mind to appraise the culture which he interacts. He therefore, puts the greatest premium on ethical basis of education and stressed character building aims³⁰.

HIS SCHEME OF STUDIES

Swami Dayananda was a great idealist, exponent of ancient Vedic culture and his interpretation of the Vedas has brought a new vista of knowledge in the sphere of social reform and educational reconstruction³¹. Giving a call "Back to the Vedas" his ear-

nest desire was to make his countrymen realise their golden ancient culture and spiritual heritage. He therefore, planned such a scheme of studies (curriculum) which should transform the Indian youth and the educational institutions into places of spirituality and cultural heritage. He was very much careful about the education of the child right from his infancy. His scheme of studies in order of priority given in Chapter Third of SATYARTH PRAKASH is as under³² :—

- (i) Learning paninis phonetics ;
- (ii) Learning of Grammer ;
- (iii) The study of 'NIGHANTU' AND 'NIRUKTA' books on Vedic vocabulary and philosophy ;
- (iv) The study of prosody (Pingal Shastra) for understanding the rules of poetry ;
- (v) The study of 'MANU SMIRTI' ; 'VALMIK RAMAYANA' 'VIDUR NITI' AND 'MAHABHARTA' in order to get rid of evil habits and become cultured ;
- (vi) Study of four Vedas together with their four 'BRAHMANS' ;
- (vii) Learning of four Upvedas dealing with medical science, Science of Government, the science of music and the Science of Mechanical Arts the Law of Matter and Motion ;
- (viii) The study of Astrology including mathematics, geography, astronomy, Algebra, Geometry, Engineering both Mechanical and Civil etc ;

The study of all the above subjects should however, be completed within a course of 20 or 21 years and all these subjects be studied in theory as well as in practice³³. Swami Ji recommended that the works of Rishis (Great scholars) should only be studied by the students because other books were not only based on secondary sources, personal prejudices but also biased and parochial in their outlook³⁴.

Swami Ji also stressed the need of physical education at school so that the child should also grow physically strong. All the children should be put to school after they had attained the age of eight or nine years and care should be taken to see that they lead a life of a 'Tapasvi' i.e.. an austere life wedded to continence, free from even the thought of women³⁵. He stressed that all children, including of kings or their nobles or

of paupers should not only be sent to same schools but be bed and dressed alike³⁸. He stood for Gurukula system of education in place of current education system.

Our discussion shall be incomplete if we did not refer to his strong convictions about the women education, code for teachers and duties of parents. I may therefore, briefly refer about each of them as under :

WOMEN EDUCATION

In the great days of our country women were not only treated equals of men³⁹ but they had helped to civilize this and ent race.⁴⁰ The warmth of their heart, self sacrificing zeal, unassuming loyalty and strength in suffering, when subjected to trials of extreme severity, were among the glories of Indian women.⁴¹ Swami Dayanand was, therefore, of the view that it would be great injustice if the women be kept like prisoners within the house⁴². Rather he saw no reason why women should be deprived of education.

As the women hope to shoulder many responsibilities including house-hold duties, Swami Ji wanted that they should possess at least a minimum knowledge only of the grammer, religions, medicines, mathematics but also of other subjects without which it would be difficult for her to discriminate between right and wrong, to beget children, and bring them up as useful citizens⁴³. He even pointed out that an illiterate women bereft of common sense might prove a curse to the family as a whole⁴⁴. As his scheme of studies was wide enough, he included the study of Mechanical Art, Arithmetic, Vedas, Scriptures, Grammer, Theology, Medicines etc. as necessary for women⁴⁵.

He however, desired separate institutions for girls which should purely be managed by women⁴⁶. Boys of even five years should not be allowed to enter the institutions run for girls⁴⁷. And same should be the case of institutions run for boys⁴⁸. He desired that the institutions of boys and girls should be located at least about ten miles away from clusters of human habitation and there should exist a distance of at least three to five miles between them⁴⁹.

THE TEACHERS AND THEIR DUTIES

Swami Ji had prescribed certain primary qualifications for a teacher. He stressed that only those persons would be fit to undertakes the work of teaching who were thoroughly educated and virtuous. He instructed that even fellows who had given up the evil ways should not be appointed as teacher. He described that men devoted and

pledged to educate and build up the character of children should only find place in teaching profession⁵⁰.

He pointed out that the duty of a teacher is not only remaining busy with musty text-books and rusty black-boards, to provide intellectual, spiritual and social leadership, instruct his pupils to lead a virtuous life but to speak truth, never be negligent in learning and teaching, never neglect to serve his parents and tea-thers, preacher of true religion, love, virtues and shun vices and imbibe virtues and not faults and imperfections. Acting as an ideal for his students, an emblem of high character and symbol of identification, the teaching must mould the personality of the pupils so as to make them prosperous and strong citizens of India based on ancient Vedic culture.⁵¹ Swami Ji desired that a teacher's love for his country, passion for work, his untiring zeal, devotion to the noble profession and indomitable courage must produce in each of his pupil a gem, a national a gem, a national hero, a sage and a saint.⁵² He wanted that teachers should try to keep themselves aloof from loose talk and treat all children alike⁵³.

DUTIES OF THE STUDENTS

He stressed that the students should not only speak the truth but be truthful in words, deeds and thoughts. The students should never a hypocrite or a man of low character abstain from animal diet, liquors, restrain their minds from evil pursuits, free from all worldly anxieties not covet bodily comforts but devote themselves to the acquisition of knowledge and culture, observe Brahmcharya, study Vedas, keep the company of learned and pious people, have full control on their senses, fulfil their duties and obligations towards others and obey their parents and tutors⁵⁴. The students should imbibe teachers virtues and not their faults and imperfections.

TEACHER PUPIL RELATIONS

The teachers should try to make their pupils cultured, self-controlled, mannerly, physically and morally strong⁵⁵. The students should be quiet, devoted to teachers, thoughtful, diligent and try to achieve perfect learning, fullage and Unalloyed virtues and leve of work. Swamiji actually tried to recapture the spirit of the upnishadic times restore the same spiritual atmosphere in the matter of teacher-pupil relationship⁵⁶. He desired that teachers and taught should read true scriptures.... not parrot-like but with a clear understanding of their meaning and significance. He said that man alone

could become a great scholar who had the advantage of three good tutors.....father, mother and teachers.

ROLE OF PARENTS

Swamiji wanted that parents should decorate their children with the ornaments of highest education, training qualities and habits of a worthwhile nature.⁵⁸. It is, therefore, their highest religious obligation to devote all their energy, mind and wealth to the imparting of knowledge to the children⁵⁹. The mere fact that Swamiji wanted that children should worship their parents proved that he held parents in high regard and had very great reverence for them⁶⁰. The parents, he says "should develop in children the habit of self-restraint, love of learning and good company, to shun pernicious games, unnecessary weeping and laughing, quarrel, pleasure, moreseness, attachment to an object, envy, ill-will⁶¹ etc.

RELEVANCE OF HIS EDUCATIONAL THOUGHTS

Although the educational thoughts of eminent philosophers are generally conditioned by the politic-socio-economic considerations of their times yet some of them have relevance for all times to come. Same is true about the educational thoughts of Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

However, in the complex world of nuclear age, total war, moral and ethical degeneration, total annihilation of eastern values, engulfment and undermining of eternal virtues with the spreading of materialism, activation of the forces of destruction and danger of uncalled foreign aggressions, there is not only a need of an educational system for reconstruction of national and emotional unity of mankind but also to transform man to serve the humanity.

In India time has changed considerably since the beginning of this century and more revolutionary changes have taken place in the recent decades especially after independence which ushered a new era of national reconstruction. With the inauguration of the Five Year Plans, the launching out the Community Development Programmes and explosion of media in this country, we are witnessing an awakening of the masses, a mass upheaval and growing social consciousness. All these are no doubt engineering tremendous changes in the minds and hearts of the common man. With the result, we no longer today face the so-called ignorant

laity' of the last century in its pristine form but a different personality is in the making. Inspite of all this, there is tremendous relevance of some of the educational thoughts of Swami Dayanand even in the contemporary Indian situations.

By advocating the Vedic system of education he inspired all of us to battle, though single-handed against the massed forces of evils, reactionary, fanaticism, superstition and pull the tempest-tossed boat of Indian cultural heritage to the peace and safety. In quest to be free from sorrow and suffering, his insistence to the students to search for truth, observe strict discipline and to lead a life of true Brahamcharya is still have primary importance under the shadow of materialism, nudeness and vulgarity of today. Character building, of which we all hear so much nowadays, occupied a prominent place in his scheme of education. Moreover, in the present atmosphere of sectarianism, parochialism, regionalism and casteism which has generated hatred between man and man, his view that the true character building would only be possible if boys and girls be taught of their duty to God and man is still relevant in Indian context. His plea that a long course of 18 years hard study demanded a store of energy and vitality in the young which was not at all possible for them to possess without enforcing on them a life of celibacy and insistence of chastity and Brahamcharya is very much needed even nowadays. But children should not unnecessarily be chastised or villified so that inhibitions may not set in. His motto of simple living and high thinking as one of the essential conditions of student life, should also be the ultimate goal of our contemporary education system. In the atmosphere of general complaint of the low level of intellectual development of our students because of a wide gulf separating students from the teachers and the secret of the success of Cambridge and Oxford student due to personal touch between the tutor and the ward, there is still a need of the closest teacher-pupil relations. His propose Gurukula system can also be valuable in these days so far as a direct personal and continuous contact wish the teacher of noble character these will help to mould the mind of the younger learner during the most impressionable period of his life. But whether the teacher-pupil relations as stipulated by Swamiji can be attempted with success in the present context is rather a debatable questions. His system of education in which the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the prince and the peasant all reading the eating together, living the same life, undergoing the same discipline is the most urgent requirement of the day in the contemporary democratic India where the Mandal Commission and reservation Politics have generated socio-politics economic structure of our society. His opposition to co-education even at the primary level where children were innocent, may not be acceptable

today because of paucity of resources. His plea for free and compulsory education to all has already found place in the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of Indian Constitution. His much respected principle of truth i.e. Satya Eva Jayat is also the constitutionally accepted principle of our country. His proposed code of conduct for the parents, teachers and taught is also a need of the day. In our society this principle of reverence has been an age-old and time honoured one and this is still being persisted today in a faint form.

His looking at teaching from an ethical angle may not always be possible in these days because the purpose of education, apart from its general values, is quite different for different persons, depending upon the goal which each sets forth for oneself and tries to achieve it. In the total social confusion and economic scarcity, his stress that each person should curve out his own destiny by his own efforts and society and state should state should simply to provide the necessary conditions for his growth and development, is also need of the day. His insistence that boys and girls be allowed to marry after the completion of their 18 years education, if strictly heeded today, the problem of population explosion can be mitigated to a greater extent. His advice on speech i.e., shun bitter language, speak only true and sweet words and avoid talktiveness, because bitterness in language simply generates animosities and rancour" is a golden principle of social life for all generations in all the times. It is also the well even nowadays that "brevity in the soul of wit."

While offering his reverence to Swami Dayanand Saraswati Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has rightly said on July 15, 1933 "I offer my homage of veneration to Swami Dayanand, the great path-maker in modern India—who with a clear sighted vision of truth and courage of determination preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous adjustment of mind that could strive for a harmonious adjustment with progressive spirit of modern age and at the same time keep in perfect touch with that glorious past of India, when it revealed its personality in freedom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realisation."⁸² I may, therefore, conclude with the remarks that in the history of modern India Swami Dayanand will be known not only as a religious reformer, one of the fathers of the great renaissance but a great educationalist of his times and architect of modern India.

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HUMAN RIGHT SITUATION IN PAKISTAN.

Human rights are ^{being} violated all over the world in one form or the other. In Pakistan, the situation is worse because the law of the land and its enforcers protect and abet these violations. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan's interim report on the State of Human Rights in 1993 draws attention to this dangerous paradox. There is no indication yet of the Pakistan's readiness to announce acceptance of International norms ^{to protect all} on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of her citizens irrespective of their religion, caste, sex, political affiliations, sects etc. U.S. State Deptt. Report on Human Rights situation in Pakistan 1993 confirmed that there was no significant change in the Human Rights situation in Pakistan with serious problems remaining in several areas. Religious zealots continued to discriminate against and persecute non-Muslims basing their activities on discriminatory legislations. The Govt. did little to curb these activities.

Asia Human Right Watch in its report of Sept 14, 1993 rightly pointed out "Govt. efforts to Islamicize Pak civil and criminal laws, which began in early 1980's have dangerously undermined fundamental rights of and freedom of religion and expressions as well as have led to serious abuses against women, children, and the country's religious minorities."

In spite of the fact that various agencies/commissions have been created at national and international levels in every sphere throughout the world yet

Women. The report pointed out the pitiable condition of the fair sex. Efforts are being made to raise entire generations to distrust and dislike any woman deviated from norms of good, house bound, veiled, effeminate, self sacrifice and to treat them as second class citizens, despite clear injunctions in the Koran and civil law, women generally do not receive their due share in family inheritance. In rural Pakistan the practice of a woman marrying the Koran is still widely accepted, if her family cannot arrange a suitable marriage, to keep the family wealth intact. Moreover, rape and abductions of women are viewed by society and court as property dispute.

Amnesty International in its report Dec. 1993 pointed out that there were several cases of sexual abuse of women by police. The HRC in its interim report 1993 pointed out that 'A woman was raped every three hours, every another one raped was a minor, and every fourth one was a gang raped. In increasing numbers of cases influential persons were involved.'

Police excesses against women in custody and stripping the victim in public was a routine matter there. There were several

the requirement that closer examinations of women should only be made by women and that women held should be transferred to judicial custody was automatically ignored.

There are several instances in which women were humiliated during arrest by being forced to strip naked in front of family members of opposite genders.

The family laws as well as traditional social and legal constraints remained discriminatory against women and kept them in a subordinate position in society. Some 100,000 or one out of 30 women was divorced. Even the Council for Islamic ideology postponed ruling on whether, according to Islam, a woman could be a ruler, a judge and whether her evidence was admissible in Islamic punishment.

All reports of sexual assault of women blacked out from the media. Hudood law requires a woman to produce four non-muslim witness to get a rapist convicted.

'Daily Yomiuri' a Japanese paper on Nov. 11, 1993 reported that interpretations of Hudood equate rape with fornication and punished women instead of rapists.

'The News' a newspaper of January 10, 1994 informed

that 2,500 women were raped in 1993. Disgruntled husbands and fathers can bring charges of adultery against their wives and daughters - children. The problem of using children as bonded labour

also remained wide spread in spite of legislations to restrict this practice. The U.S. State Deptt in its report of 1993 pointed out that about ten million children upto age of 15 years were then engaged in different trades in the frontier provinces in violation of Human Rights laws. The worst victims of this heinous crime were the brick kiln workers around Peshawar.

Pakistani women were not the only victims. Hundreds of Bangladeshi women were detained and subjected to inhumane treatment.

public campaign organisation highlighted the violation of minority rights in pakistan. Even 'Dawn' on Nov. 6, 1993 pointed out that though under Art 7 of U.N. Human Rights Charter as well Art 36 of the pak constitution the Govt. bound to protect the life & property of the minorities yet it has miserably failed to protect these rights and taken no notice of the gross violation of the rights of minorities. It also reported 'the violation of minority rights of Hindus, Christians, Ahmadis, Sindhis, Balochis, Zikris, and Shi'a communities in pakistan. Asia Watch recently observed 'that civil & criminal criminal laws have dangerously undermined fundamental rights, freedom of religion and expression, and have led to serious abuses against the country's religious minorities. The incorporation of eight Amendment in constitution in 1985, which introduced a system of separate electorates for religious minorities has serve discrimination against them and have deprived them of the full citizenship right to vote and political campaigning. In other words this voting segregation has the effect of oblitiging the already diminished influence of the minority community in politics.

The Human Right commission of Pakistan in its Interim report of 1993 reported the violation against and denial of Human Rights to the Hindus. The Pakistani Hindus complaints about kidnapping, forced conversion of their young women, confiscation of the Hindu Shrine, and burning of Hindu's texts and torture of detained Hindus. The Committee for justice and peace in a press conference on Feb 28, 1994 highlighted the increasing incidents of kidnapping of Hindu girls who after captivity of 10 to 15 days, ^{were compelled to} give in court statements that they had converted to Islam. Govt, services and in army Hindus were particularly being singled out and could not be recruited even as jawan in the army. They could not be given higher position like. deputy commissioners or judge of High Court.

In short frequent abduction of Hindu girls and their forcible conversion to Islam, specially in Sindh, has created a sense of fear in the minds of the local Hindus who are feeling in secure in Pakistan.

Abuse of women in custody is an violation of Human Right of a woman.

HRC P on January 20th 1994, while demanding the demilitarisation of Sindh, expressed strong reservation about the ongoing military operations

in Sindh. It stressed that despite military operations in Sindh was no solution to the law and order situation in the province.

Referring the victimisation of Ahmadiya Community the report pointed out that Ahmadi's in particular suffer from harassment and discrimination and have limited chance for advancement in the public ~~sector~~ sectors. The Govt, continued to close down Ahmadi's places of worship and mobs attacked on their congregations. Forced conversion of female members of the Ahmadi's sect are also reported. In July 1994 even the Supreme Court of Pakistan closed the door to any legal redress for the intolerance and persecution that the Ahmadiyy Muslim have been encountering in Pakistan for the last two decades. In 1984 the then Martial Law Administrator General Zia-ul-Haq, promulgated ordinance curtailing the religious freedom of Ahmadi's and changing some of their religious practices into punishable crimes. Since then the Govt, has allowed, under the cover of law, blatant abuse of human rights violations, constitutional protection of their religious freedom, freedom of speech and equality of the citizen. Riaz Damar, head of the Ahmadiyya community of Haroonabad and Bahawlnagar was attacked.

Anti-Ahmedia wave also swept Lahore's University of Engineering and Technology and Allama Iqbal College to wards end of the year 1993. Two groups of students had beaten up two boys and a girl of the Ahmedia sect and demanded for expulsion of Ahmadi students and dismissal of Ahmadi teachers.

In Faisalabad schools were asked not to admit Ahmadi students to Islamic studies and Holy Quran classes.

The 'Muslim' newspaper on Feb 7, 1994 also confirmed that the Human Right violations of the Ahmadis in Pakistan was at largest. The paper further pointed out that the local police headed by local ~~the~~ Maulvi Ghulam Mustafa raided the houses of Ahmadi's Abdul Noor Nasir and Lalif Ahmad in Mohallah Darshif Darul, forcibly ~~beat~~ broke open the doors, manhandled the women and severely beaten the children.

Archbishop of Karachi Simeon Pereira said 'on Jan. 8, 1994 "During the last 15 years we have witnessed a gradual whittling away the rights of Christian community." while speaking at a seminar on Legal Study of the Constitution vis-a-vis minorities Representation that said that 'Because

we are non-muslim, we are treated as second class citizens" expressing anxiety of the Christians and church, he said "The Christians were the most frequent victims of the blasphemy laws." The HRC P in its interim report-1993 said, "That the pattern showed that the laws had become the handiest instrument for minor mullahs to launch themselves into spirited public leadership and into the questioning of public conscience. They seized every opportunity to make public issue of it and then follow it up to the desired end through building street pressure and mobilising intimidately presence in the courts."

The Christian school teacher Arshmat Ahmad, was brutally murdered on the street in front of school by a radical muslim. After murder he reportedly danced over the body and was greeted by jeers by the police. Muslim religious leader hailed him as a hero. Local lawyers offered him free legal advice and villagers streamed to his cell with flowers and cookies. Christian churches also faced destruction by mobs. The clergymen were also brutally beaten. In July 1994 even pale supreme court closed the door to any legal redress for the intolerance and persecution that

The mob destroyed the church and severely damaged the school building.

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HRCP in its Interim Report of 1993 mentioned that an understanding between Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam and Barelvi alliance had been reached to declare ZIKRIS tribe in Balochistan as non-muslim. One of their rallies in Feb 1993 led to attack on several Ziki houses. A few days later five rockets were hurled at Koh-i-Murad, the place of Zikris' ziaarat. Zikri leader Rahim Bux complained in Karachi that forced conversions were taking place in Makran. The Zikris were being threatened.

He fore saw a bloodbath if Zikris were not protected from Sunni fundamentalists.

U.S. State Dept. Report ^{of 1993} on Human Rights situation in Pakistan pointed out that the arbitrary detentions, ~~torture~~ and other abuses of prisoners and detainees continued to be serious problem and there were no significant efforts to reform the police organisation or to punish those who were responsible such abuses. It stressed that ~~torture~~ physical and emotional is the worst crime against humanity. HRCP in its report of Dec 31, 1993 pointed out that this crime has witnessed a sharp rise in Pakistan. The report further mentioned that the detained people were hanged upside down for a number of days in order to seek the confession of the commission of the crime.

Amnesty International also reported in Dec. 1993 that there were torture, death in custody and extra judicial execution. The report mentioned

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a number of torture cells were unearthed in Lahore. Such illegal activity cannot go on without the patronage and collaboration of ruling gentry. The report further added that men and women were humiliated during arrest by being strip naked. Special instruments appeared to have been developed for this purpose viz 'CHITTAR'. An other torture method recently added is called 'CHEEZA'. It consists of the blindfolded victim having his legs pulled a part as far as possible. Some limb seems are also pulled up as far as possible. According to Govt. figures 600 prisoners died in police jails ~~till Dec. 1993~~ during the last 54 years.

But all reported as from natural causes. Torture was used primarily to extract money either from prisoners or from his family. Frequently a prisoner was released & the cases were dropped as unsustained after the family had paid the amount demanded.

So far as encounter killing, Amnesty International in its report of Dec. 1993 said that most of encounters were engineered by the police itself.

The Report of Jubilee Campaign organisation pointed out that even political parties torture their political opponents or dissidents within their own parties. ^{Asia} Human Rights Watch pointed out that ~~torture~~ Torture and deaths in custody occurred throughout the country, particularly in Sindh province.

even pale media was not spared. The council for Islamic Ideology instructed that only those persons should be invited to T.V. who had Islamic minds and believe in ideology of Pakistan. All focus should be on Islamic values. All reports of sexual assaults should be black out from the media. Local felons should be banned on T.V. A board of Ulama should censor every programme.

The 'Muslim' a daily from Pakistan reported on Dec. 15, 1993 that Pakistan was heading for a police state.

As reported by the "Frontier Post" on January 28, 1994, the following is the tally of the inhuman rights in Pakistan bill 1993: —

1. 176 persons were awarded death sentence;
2. 52 persons died in the custody of police or other law enforcing agencies.
3. 183 persons died in so called police encounters.
4. A women was raped every three hours, every other one raped was a minor, every fourth one

was gang raped.

✓ 5. A Christian nazir Masih was brutally tortured to death by Faisalabad police.

✓ 6. Qureshi Munawar was awarded three years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 15,000 for writing Kalima-e-tayyeba on a calendar.

7. Kalash people were forcibly converted in Hindukush valley.

✓ 8. Eight persons were brutally gunned down in a Lahore mosque.

✓ 9. five persons were killed in a Bahawalpur shia mosque.

10. 75 to 80% of women in jails were charged under Hudood laws.

✓ 11. 50% women died in 400 cases of domestic violence in Punjab.

✓ 12. 400 children were kidnapped every month in Punjab.

✓ 13. 6 millions under 14 years were victims of child labour.

14. 230,000 newborns did not live to see their first birthday.

15. 400,000 under 5s died, mostly from preventable diseases.

✓ 16. People who lost employment numbered more than those who gained it, including the educated

and semi skilled.

In the end I may say that no doubts the violation of Human Rights is a global phenomenon and Third world nations present a depressing picture, yet Human Right situation in Pakistan is still worse. Pak government's efforts to Islamize its civil and criminal laws, its judicial system, judicial approval of Religion into law, its patronage of the Sunni fundamentalists as well as Muslim fanatic forces and Islamic chauvinism have dangerously undermined human rights of their people and led to serious abuses against the rights of women, children, country's religious minorities and political opponents. As a result the entire democratic world is of the view that Human Rights remain at a lowest profile in Pakistan in general and in Sindh and Balochistan in particular.

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SOCIALIST THOUGHTS OF PT. JAWAHARLAL AND M.K. GANDHI : AN ESTIMATE

Dr. Vidya Bhushan*

The distrust and antipathy between the 'haves' and 'hovernots' which often found expression in massive strikes and arrogant lock-outs of factories by the workers in 19th century brought the society to the precipice of an open social disruption. The system of capitalism was, therefore, totally discredited. As a result the close of 19th century witnessed the doom of individualism and socialism, in one form or the other seized the temple of politics.¹

Socialism, being defined as "a system of social organisation in which private property and the distribution of income are subject to social control, rather than to determination by individuals pursuing their own interests or by the market forces of capitalism", aims at 'man's emancipation, his restoration to unalienated, uncrippled individual who enter's into a new, rich, spontaneous relationship with his fellowmen and with nature And transform himself into a being who can make creative use of his powers of feeling and thinking".² Socialism as a theory and political movement has appeared in various forms in different countries. Its form changes in accordance with the varying social, economic, political and cultural conditions of each country.

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Pt. Nehru, being a man of action was also committed to 'socialism'. He was deeply influenced by the writings of Karl Marx and Lenin, communism of Soviet Union and China. He was of the view that the story of socialism of Karl Marx gave him a distinct status in the realm of socialist thought. He clarified his positions to his socialist learning and said :

"I am temperamentally and by training an individualist and intellectually a socialist..... I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage"³

Even in his early days he was associated with a group of radical thinkers and drew up a programme of something like agrarian socialism in his home state. After a short visit to Russia his emotional preferences for Leninist Communism became marked. His initial approach to socialism was purely humanitarian and ethical. It was breaded out of sympathy and pity for the misery of the under dogs. He seemed to have been converted to socialism during his visit to the Soviet Union. He wrote that "It is essential that we must clearly lay down an economic programme for the masses with socialism as its ideal."⁴ From the presidential platform of the Lahore Congress, he categorically enunciated his commitment to socialism. While believing Socialism as a philosophy of compensation for the suppressed classes and nationalities, he declared that he was deeply impressed with

Socialism as an economic theory of state ownership and control of the basic means of production and distribution.⁵

Nehru believed in ethical socialism. He regarded Socialism as a philosophy of life and not merely as a formula for economic reconstruction. To him socialism was the economic technique for the liberation of the masses from the industrial and agrarian feudal lords and oligarchs. He said Socialism meant the "ending of private property except in a restricted sense. Like Marx and Lenin he also believed that the advent of socialism would be the motivations for a change in man's instincts, habitats and desires."⁶

M.K. Gandhi, on the other hand, was not a theoretician but a practical idealist and at heart a deeply religious man. His outlook on Socio-politico-Economic and other problems was influenced by his religious views. He subscribed to the principle of social justice and practiced with a religious zeal from the earliest days in South Africa where he had founded the Tolstoy farm, basing it on certain chosen principles of communism.⁷ He, once, said that he claimed to be socialist because of his belief and conduct. He stressed that his socialism was natural to him and not adopted from any book. He further pointed out that he was socialist long before those who knew it in India and avowed his creed. He even did not think that socialism was the discovery of Marx and it was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists. He contended that socialism and

even communism was explicit in the first verse of the Isopanishad.⁸ Gandhi knew the heart rending poverty and suffering of the people in the villages and his preoccupations with the redress of that suffering, his ambition to wipe every tear from every eye, immediately captured imagination of the countryside and the response to his call was I the nature of a volcanic eruption thereafter.⁹

Nehru's idea of socialism was not based on any type of socialism found in other countries. He named his concept as an indigenous socialism based on the liberty of individual and not using any type of force or suppression. He considered individual liberty as a very precious commodity which could not be bartered with any precious thing. He termed it as 'Democratic Socialism' He wanted that capitalism should be ended by non-violence and by peaceful methods.¹⁰ As a passionate and genuine defender of and deep attachment to the civil liberties, he said" to crush a contrary opinion forcibly and allow it no expression, because we dislike it, is essentially of the same genus as cracking the skull of an opponent because we disapprove of him".¹¹ Nehru did not find any inherent contradiction between socialism & Individualism. He believed that the individual and the state were not anti thesis to each other. He hoped that his socialism would not kill or made suffer individuals. He said "I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic & cultural bondage.

Gandhi did not like any kind of Jargon and believed that it was the quality and the spirit of a system which was more important. He disapproved all such institutions and ideologies which strike at individuality. He valued individual freedom. He was a democratic humanitarian by instinct. He also stressed that his concept of socialism was pragmatic and not dogmatic. He pointed out that as unrestricted individualism is the law of the beast of the jungle, there should be balance between individual freedom and social restraint. Gandhi favours socialism if it did not come through violence. He termed his concept of socialism as non-violent socialism.¹² He was opposed to the use of any suppression or extermination of the antagonists. He pleaded that the individual freedom should have fullest play, which could be achieved under the reign of unadulterated Ahimsa.¹³ Gandhi put for the ethical arguments in his advocacy of moral transformation of the individual. He believed that the use of force was likely to alienate the right minded and neutral one's and it might lead them to the other side and thus strengthen the opponents.¹⁴

Pt. Nehru's concept of socialism was not a static or dogmatic rather it was pragmatic, ever changing and ever evolving. He kept on constantly shifting his socialist ideology toward left from 1947 to 1964. He admitted :

"I look upon it as a growing, dynamic conception as something which is not rigid, as something which must

fit in with the changing conditions of human life and activity in every country".¹⁵

Nehru evolved his own concept of socialism. He had portrayed the type of society which he wanted to establish in India in his Autobiography :

"Our final aim can only be a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all, a society organised on a planned basis for the raising of mankind to have material and cultural levels to a cultivation of spiritual values, of cooperative, usefulness, the spirit of service, the desire to do right, goodwill and live ultimately a world order".¹⁶

Like Pt. Nehru, Gandhi's concept of socialism was not dogmatic. He was a practical idealist and at heart deeply religious man. His outlook on social, political, economic and other problems was influenced by his religious view. He not only subscribed to the principles of socialism and social justice but practiced it with a religious zeal. Gandhi's interest in socialism was by and large practical. He tried to deduce his propositions from facts of life and tested them every time to make practical. He, quite often, used comparison with scientific method to illustrate his own idea.¹⁷

Pt. Nehru hated the Princes, Nowabs and big Zamidars who were leading a luxurious and comfortable lives, whereas the majority of population was deprived of the very basic essentials like food, shelter and

clothing. He regarded zamindari system as a source of great exploitation and evil. He believed that Taluqdari system of land tenure was very oppressive for the farmer. He pleaded for the abolition of Zamindari system and to put ceiling on landed property. He believed that as land was a unique type of property which could not increase or decrease, the land ownership be vested in the state. He stressed that there would be no other alternative to this if real socialism to be established on firm foundations.¹⁸

Gandhi, on the other hand stressed that all land belonged to state i.e. people and pleaded for the state ownership of the land. He believed in the change of heart and conversion of landlords by means of the doctrine of non-violence and trusteeship. He wrote :

"I expect to convert the Zamindars and other capitalists by non-violent method. For it is an essential part of non-violence to go long the line of least resistance".¹⁹ He believed that if the toilers intelligently combined they would become an irresistible power. He wanted to invite the zamindars and the capitalists to regard themselves as a trustee for those on whom they depended for making the retention of an increase of their capital.²⁰

The wholistic approach of Pt. Nehru was production oriented. He did not believe in the liberal school of economic and the theory of non-interventionalism. His ideas were partly similar to those of the German state socialists-wagnes, schmoller, knies etc. He pointed out that his

attachment to socialism was not of the vague humanitarian type but socialism as meant in economic sense. He stressed that his socialism meant the ending of private property except in a restricted sense. His socialist pattern connoted social ownership or control of the principal means of production, acceleration of natural production and the equal distribution of the wealth of nation.²¹ He believed in nationalization and emphasized increase of productive resources and full employment.²² He would give to the 'rurals industries' and 'Khadi' in his scheme of economic reconstruction. He believed in rapid industrialization of the country. He talked about progressive socialization and stressed on the necessity of agrarian reconstruction in India. He was also committed to the theory of mixed Economy. He was keenly conscious of India's grave economic problems such as unemployment, underemployment, rampant poverty, food shortage, high prices etc. For ending all these maladies he accepted and tried to implement the concept of planned economy.

Gandhi, however, accepted the spiritual orientation to economics. He said that 'Truth' and 'Ahimsa' must incarnate in socialism. His noble crusade for the liberation of the suppressed lower class in India showed his deep attachment to the concept of social justice. He believed that the industrial civilization of the occident was based on the exploitation of the weaker people. Its complicated material life was inconsistent with high thinking. He was therefore, primarily engaged in abolishing the unjust

economics exploitation of India. He pleaded to return to nature. He stressed that the civilization should consist not in the accumulation of commodities but in a deliberated and voluntary reduction of wants. Gandhi condemned the 19th century doctrine of Laissez fair.²³ He accepted the concept of economic equality. All persons should be supplied with necessities to satisfy their natural needs.²⁴ He was of the view that for the concrete realization of economic equality it was essential to take recourse to Charkha and the allied industries.²⁵ In Hindswaraj he opposed large scale industrialization, imperialism and secularism as diseases. Later on, in the context of the future Indian society he advocated reconciliation of large scale and small scale industries, the nationalization of key industries and organisation of urban centre to function as catering to the interests of the villages where the real soul of India lay.²⁶ Gandhi was a critic of capitalism because the institution of capitalism was a negation of Ahimsa. He championed the revolutionary doctrine of equal distribution of wealth. He stressed that there should be no accumulation and no useless possession. The rich should become trustee of their surplus wealth for the good of the society.

Pt. Nehru did not find any inherent contradiction between socialism and individualism. He believed that the individual and the state were not anti-thesis to each other. He was of the view that liberty was possible and was consistent with planning. He said that equality and liberty always go

together and they do not run centre to each other.²⁷ He pleaded that he was temperamentally a socialist and hoped that socialism would not kill or make individuals to suffer. He pointed out that he was attracted to socialism simply because it would release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage.²⁸

Gandhi also laid greater stress on the role of the individual in bringing about social revolution.²⁹ He said that it were individuals who started the process of revolution in their bid to change the social efficiency. The individualism and socialism were not contradictory but complementary to each other. He disapproved all such institutions and ideologies which strike at individuality- the root of all progress. Out of the two extremes- Marxian economic determinism, which regarded individuals of no consequence in determining the course of history and unrestricted individualism of the laissez-fair.³⁰ Gandhi uphold the golden mean balance between individual freedom and social restraint. He pleaded for the adjustment of individualism to the requirements of social progress. He said that willing submission to social restraint for the sake of the well being of the whole society would enrich both the individual and the society. He, therefore, presented synthetic view about the relation between the individual and society.³¹

Pt. Nehru's socialism was also nationalization oriented. Nehru classified industries into three sectors – Public, National and Private. The

first included post & telegraph, Railways & Defence industries which must be the exclusive monopoly of the state. The National sector included industries which were also the exclusive responsibility of the state. These were coal, iron, steel, mines, air craft, ship building etc. All other industries would be in the private sector.³² He was of the view that public sector should work where it could increase production. But he did not want nationalization of the private sector where it was rendering useful service to the society by enhancing the production. Pt. Nehru said "As long as private industries are kept going and are employing many people, we would rather use our resources for developing new projects and employing more people. If these industries are well managed privately, we see no need for nationalization at any time".³³ He selected for nationalization of big and heavy industries and projects involving huge amount for investments and were most essential for creating an infrastructure to give a strong and sound base to Indian economy. e.g. Atomic energy, space technology³⁴ etc. Nehru was also in favour of big machinery and fast travelling.

Gandhi advocated nationalization of key industries which produced essential commodities. He pleaded that key industries should not be retained under private ownership because it would lead to the exploitation of the workers. He favoured increase of production and not private accumulation, but for social service. He even opposed all mechanisation because it would create unemployment, idleness and intellectual dullness.

His opposition was not to the machine as such, but to the irrational craze for machinery.³⁵

Pt. Nehru admitted that there was conflict of interests among the different sections of people e.g. interests of the zamidars vs tenants; industrialists vs the workers. He stressed that this conflict was not an irreconcilable. Moreover these were frictions and not conflicts. He pleaded that these could be removed by non-violent and by peaceful methods.³⁶

Gandhi, on the other hand, repudiated the theory of class-struggle. He started with the notion of the common good of the whole community and pleaded for the replacement of the concept of class struggle by the more-rational theory of social well being and harmony.³⁷ Discarding the theory of class antagonism founded on inveterate hatred of classes, Gandhi remarked :

"I do not like the assumption underlying its propositions which go to show that there is necessary antagonism between the classes and the masses or between labourer and the capitalist such that they can never work for mutual good. If this would have been the case, the human race would not have advanced to this stage".³⁸

Gandhi was of the view that his socialism wished to advance society by cutting across classes and not by setting classes against classes. He wished to abolish classes by bringing the classes together so that there

were no class distinctions left. Gandhism, therefore, stood for class conversion.³⁹

Nehru was poles apart from communist approach to international politics and economics. His approach to socialism, since his Cambridge days was purely humanitarian and ethical. He advocated the purity not only of ends but also of means. He repeatedly reiterated the theme of nobility of means and operation of moral laws. He had also accepted the creed of Ahimsa. His conviction about purity of ends and means was said to be stimulated by Gandhian influence.⁴⁰

Gandhi was also emphatic regarding the use of non-violent means for achieving the ideal society. He held that the means and ends were convertible terms and that the ends grew out of the means. He said there was the inviolable connection between the means and ends. He pointed out the ends and means were so intertwined that they could not be separated. He further stressed that good ends could never be achieved through bad means. Since the end in view was a non-violent society, free from exploitation and oppression, the means to bring that about, must be also be non-violent.⁴¹ He pleaded that :

“So close is the relation between ends and means that if one takes care of the means, the end will take care of itself; the means is the end in process. Hence the purer

the means, the surer will be the progress towards the goal.”⁴²

He said that democracy or swaraj of the masses could never come through untruthful and violent means.⁴³

While concluding I may say that Pt. Nehru had a profound emotional attachment to the Gandhi. Nehru represented the search for freedom, social justice and equality. Where as Gandhi embodied the eastern quest of emancipation of all illumination. Nehru was a democrat for the masses but Gandhi was a democrat of the masses. Both were socialist in their thought and action in their own ways. Nehru was of the view that socialism did not merely imply change in the economic relations in the society. But it involved fundamental changes in the social structure, in the way of thinking and in the way of living and caste and class would have no place in a socialist state. He, however, agreed with Gandhi that mere material prosperity alone would not make life rich and meaningful. Both were, however, of the view that along with economic development, ethical and spiritual values should be fastered in order to bring about full development of the individuals. As a Gandhian, Nehru too urged the elimination, if not conquest, of fear as the necessary psychological background of a sane and rational social and international order.

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Relevance of Nehru's Ideas in the Era of Globalization

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The present age is the age of globalization. Globalization is a phenomenon, which has affected the life of the millions of people across the globe. It is dismantling the physical barriers but at the same time increasing the gap between the rich and poor. Some people have benefited from it, whereas, the other have suffered because of its ill affects. Globalisation is inevitable fact and no country can afford to ignore. Therefore, the nation-states from the different part of the globe introduced the globalization in 1970s and 1980s.

India has also gone global, since fifteen years from now. Under this process India has opened-up its economy to the outside world by introducing the first-generation economic reforms in 1991. The main stress of these reforms has been remained on liberalization, privatization, and globalization. India further tried to consolidate the process of globalization of Indian economy by introducing the second-generation economic reforms in 2000. Through these reforms, India is trying to integrate its economy into the world economy and thereby to enjoy the benefits of globalization. These reforms have resulted into the paradigm shift in the Indian economy from mixed to market friendly. This shift has posed a qualitative as well as quantitative change in the nature of Indian economy. As this paradigm shift is due to globalization, which has posed a huge question to Nehruvian socialism, India introduced by opting for the mixed economy in the 1950s and his policy of non-alignment. Therefore, the main thrust of this paper will be to explore the relevance of Nehru's idea of socialism, nationalism and his policy of non-alignment.

Socialism

In order to understand, the relevance of Nehruvian socialism in the era of globalization, it is essential to have a quick survey of his views about socialism. In 1933, in a series of articles entitled, 'Whither India?', Nehru spelt out his socialist faith at some length and argued that the capitalist system had outlived its day and had to give way to a better and saner order of human affairs.¹

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In 1936, he wrote to Lord Lothian that the transition to socialism would require nationalization of the instruments of production and distribution. One of the most emphatic statements of Nehru's socialist faith was made during the same year in his presidential address to the Lucknow Congress. There was, he said, no way of ending the poverty and subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. Nehru's avowed faith in socialism evoked controversy within the Indian National Congress, however, his presidential speech thrilled members of the Congress Socialist Party, which had been formed in 1934 when he was in prison. The crisis of 1936 was resolved; but it had a chastening effect upon Nehru; he decided to subordinate ideological considerations to his overriding loyalty to Gandhi's leadership and to the Congress party as the chief instrument of the anti-imperialist struggle. This tactical flexibility was facilitated by the fact that Nehru's socialism had never been doctrinaire. The advantages of pragmatic approach became clearer to Nehru when he presided over the National Planning Committee of the Congress in 1939-40².

In 1944, in his book, *Discovery of India*, Nehru advocated economic planning in the context of democratic freedom and with a large measure of cooperation of some at least of the groups who were normally opposed to socialist doctrine.... If (class) conflict was inevitable, it had to be faced; but if it could be avoided or minimized that was an obvious gain³. This was a far cry from the call for a full-blooded socialist society Nehru had made from his presidential chair at the Lucknow Congress. Socialism was to be ushered in not at one blow, nor to be imposed on the country; its introduction was to be graduated to fit in with the needs of the country. Nationalisation of key industries was to be undertaken, but a wide field was to be left for private enterprise; both the public and private sectors were to coexist in a system of mixed economy. This was of course, a compromise⁴.

Not until December 1954 did he ask the Parliament to pass a resolution declaring that the object of the country's economic policy was a socialist pattern of society. In January 1955 a similar resolution was adopted by the Indian National Congress at its Avadi session on planning in India with a view to the

establishment of a socialistic pattern of society when the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up, and there is an equitable distribution of national wealth. He resisted the temptation of indulging in ideological polemics and populist rhetoric. His emphasis was on the content rather than on the definition of socialism⁵. He said in March 1949:

‘Our problem is to raise the standard of the masses, supply them with their needs, give them the wherewithal to lead a decent life.... I do not care what ‘ism’ it is that helps me to set them on the road provided I do it. And if one thing fails, we will try another’⁶.

The basic philosophy of the second and third five year plans- which were launched in Nehru’s lifetime – was the development of the Indian economy along socialist lines to achieve rapid economic growth, expansion of employment, reduction in disparities of income and wealth, and promotion of values and attitudes of a free and egalitarian society⁷.

D. R. Gadgil, who became Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission under Indira Gandhi, wrote in 1959, that ‘planning as such does not operate in India today. There are only schemes of public expenditure or of aid to private or cooperative enterprises. Gunnar Myrdal, the Nobel-Laureate Swedish economist, detected the same lacunae in Indian planning:

The core of all the plans was the programme and in some respects a forecast of public and private investment. The plans were not operational in the sense that they avoided giving even broad directions for various levels of government policy, as for instance, interest rates and exchange controls⁸.

Nehru’s belief that public ownership of the means of production would promote a high degree of social responsibility and work-ethic stemmed from his socialist creed, but it proved illusory. There were unconscionable delays in the execution of several public sector projects, and after they were completed, their utilization often fell short of their capacity because their management tended to be bureaucratized and the workers’ unions were more intent on extracting their pound of flesh than on raising productivity. Despite its huge size and massive

investment, the public sector failed to generate enough surplus for further investment⁹.

In the recent liberalization of the Indian economy, there is an understandable temptation to decry Nehru's socialist proclivities and economic planning. He has been accused of an obsession with the public sector and an antipathy to private enterprise. T. Thomas, who had the opportunity of watching the Indian industry scene at close quarters both in the Nehru and post-Nehru eras, has effectively refuted this charge against Nehru:

Many people have forgotten and the young people have experienced the period following our independence when the government actually encouraged and facilitated the entry of private sector businessmen into several manufacturing industries. That is when the Tatas, Birlas, escorts, Thapars, MRF and many others began to spread their wings¹⁰.

India's economic crisis in the early 1990s could have been avoided or at least considerably moderated if Nehru's successors had modified his policies to suit the changed economic realities in the 1970s and 1980s. There was nothing inherently wrong in using the state as a catalyst for economic development and social justice. What was wrong was not state intervention, but the kind of state intervention practiced under the Indian planning regime¹¹.

Globalization thus does not altogether do away with economic nationalism, it only spurs it to new forms and to the working out of new balances between the two. While globalization has limits, so does economic nationalism. While some state protection of the national economy may be justified in relation to external markets, excessive amounts of it can fore-stall taking advantage of the growth-inducing impulses that the international economy may provide. Similarly, excessive state intervention internally is likely to lead to serious economic distortions¹².

But India being a developing country cannot do without state intervention. Although the liberalization cure is justified where serious economic distortions exist, as a wholesale prescription it is likely to encounter obstacles it fails to take into account the legitimate role of states in the economy. States are compelled to intervene in market, because markets exist for human groups, and not human

groups for markets. Human groups are prior to markets and they organize themselves into political entities, called states in the modern era, for important and compelling reasons. With their two key concerns of national security in relation to the outside world and legitimacy in relation to domestic society, states have a paramount interest in the economy and therefore intervene in it. Capital may be internally mobile, but legitimacy is rooted in states. Accordingly, for states to surrender entirely to markets, whether external or internal, would be to destroy the very basis of states. It is, therefore, no surprise that economic nationalism continues to be very much alive, not least in the developed countries¹³.

Non-alignment

The globalization also posed a huge question to relevance of the policy of non-alignment. After independence, India adopted non-alignment as its foreign policy posture but now the question arises regarding its relevance in the age of globalization. As the turn of the 1990s, the Congress party, which was the architect of the NAM abroad and state socialism at home during the 1950s, now had the charge to lead India's economic reforms. The imperatives of economic globalization and reconstruction of Indian foreign policy in a world without the Soviet Union compelled India to reject the old commitments to non-alignment and the NAM. The inertia of non-alignment continued in India's public pronouncements, but more as a matter of routine and without any sense of the old fire. The Leftists, who denounced the economic liberalization of the 1990s, inevitably targeted the foreign policy changes. India's new attempts to cosy up to the United States and the West was seen by the Left as giving up on India's independent foreign policy¹⁴.

In the many parliamentary elections that took place in the 1990s, the BJP made no reference to either non-alignment at the principle feature of India's foreign policy or renewed commitment to the NAM. The Congress was far more circumspect, emphasizing the non-aligned roots of India's foreign policy but making a bow to the demands of the new global order. In its manifesto for the

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general elections of 1998, the Congress party paid 'a great tribute to the foresight and wisdom of Jawaharlal Nehru' for creating a foreign policy framework that remains intact in its basics and fundamentals. At the same time, the manifesto made no reference to either non-alignment or NAM. Instead it went on to argue that in the new situation, 'economics, commerce and trade are the new languages of diplomacy. The party at once acknowledged the diplomatic legacy of Nehru and implicitly endorsed the changes introduced by the last Congress government under Narasimha Rao¹⁵.

Although Vajpayee attended the NAM Summit in Durban, South Africa, in 1998 and offered to host the next summit when Bangladesh backed off from its initial offer in 2001, the movement was not one of his political priorities. India's former Principal Secretary and National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, summed up the shift in India's attitude towards non-alignment and the NAM when he declared,

In the post-Nehru period, non-alignment became a mantra just as Gandhiji's non-violent struggle had become the moral path'; the fact that these policies were grounded in strict rationality and realpolitik was lost sight of. Escapism was often couched as being principled, and I can safely state that neither Gandhi nor Nehru would have appreciated being made into icons to propagate dogma. There is a new India today that is ready to question these shibboleths and take decisions on the basis of national interest.

India's non-alignment also had a pragmatic economic content, the foreign policy establishment argued. In refusing to align with either bloc, it was believed, India could make considerable economic gains in the all-pervasive rivalry between East and West. These sorts of rationalizations for non-alignment for non-alignment, however, could no longer be sustained in New Delhi in the aftermath of cold war. The old economic strategy needed to be modified amidst a new wave of globalization and India's own relative political decline in the world. India had to come to terms with the reality that it was on the losing side of the cold war, the Soviet Union was a footnote in history, and its own finances were in shambles. The challenge of the 1990s for India was to discover ways beyond non-alignment

to restore India's standing in world affairs. Even as the domestic debate on the national policy of non-alignment moved a head, India also had to deal with the implications of the marginalization of the NAM¹⁶.

Nationalism & Secularism

Nehru's ideas about nationalism and secularism are also being confronted with new challenges in the era of globalization. He was a great champion of secularism and tried to base Indian nationalism on secularism and a common national language like Hindi. Keeping in view the diversity of Indian society, Nehru used to talk about composite culture and tried to construct the Indian national identity on the basis of the ideology of nationalism and principle of unity in diversity and diversity in unity.

Both the ideas of nationalism and secularism along with national unity are facing rough weather in the 1990s, which is considered as the phase of globalization. In this phase, the politics of identities has replaced the politics of ideas in the Indian politics. The identities are being constructed on the basis of religion, caste, market and gender etc. For instance, Hindu identity on the basis of ideology of Hindutva, OBC identity on the basis of caste, market identity on the basis of globalization and women identity on the basis of gender have dominated the Indian politics in the recent past. Not only that the globalization further reinforced the local and regional social cultural identities in the Indian politics.

Thus globalization, while providing for greater inter-communication between and within nations, was also causing increased fragmentation of broad national identities. At the national level, local cultures stood in danger of losing their individual identities. Smaller identities were getting reinforced for example, ethnic, cultural, religious, language, and gender identities. Thus globalization while on the one hand was inter-connecting the world, on the other hand was providing a threat to local and regional cultures¹⁷. Hall (1997: 200) argue that the present era was characterized not by cultural uniformity, but by the resurgence of ethnic identities throughout the world i. e. racism in western Europe, neo-fascism in Russia, Islamic fundamentalism throughout Middle East

and in Africa¹⁸ argued that the medium may integrate people globally, but the message may promote political and social fragmentation.

Concluding Observations

In nutshell, it can be concluded that the Nehru's ideas of socialism, nationalism and non-alignment are confronted in the era of globalization. The economic reforms introduced by India in the 1990s, have made a significant departure from Nehruvian socialism, which was incorporated in the mixed model of Indian economy immediately after independence. Nehru was not against globalization but he was against indiscriminate globalization. In his socialism, he recognizes the role of market but he was not in favour of market economy. His conviction was that the state as a legitimate institution has to play an important role in the economy of country. Actually he wanted to establish a balance between the market and state in the economy. For the former the profit is the sole motive, whereas for the latter the well being of the people is major consideration that is why he argued that the state should regulate the economy. It can be argued that Nehru was in favour of Indian brand of globalization, which suits to the Indian requirements. But at present, India introduced globalization indiscriminate manners, which is a cause of concern for every Indian.

Nehru's idea of non-alignment has lost its relevance, if we have a quick look at the foreign policy of India in the post cold war period. The foreign policy decisions taken by India under the rule of Congress, the NDA and UPA dispensations in the post Soviet world indicate that India has made a departure from its policy of non-alignment, which gave India a unique identity in the world politics during the cold war period. It appears that after Soviet disintegration India has came close to the United States of America. Now India's foreign policy does not believe in the principle of equidistance or non-alignment but in principle of engagement and containment.

His idea of nationalism is also facing rough weather. India tried to build the national identity on the basis of the ideology of nationalism. His ideology of nationalism was based on secularism, common national language and composite

culture. He was a great believer in the politics of ideas. This is replaced by politics of identities in the 1990s. The national identity of India is being confronted by the local cultural identities. Globalization has further reinforced the local cultural identities, which is a potential threat to the national identity of India.

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JOURNAL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Vol. XIII

No. 2

1995



Off-Print of :

Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati's Educational Thoughts —An Analysis

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Printed at : **CLASSIC PRINTERS, National Highway Bari Brahamana, Jammu.**

Published by Registrar, University of Jammu, Jammu. (J & K) India.
Issued by Director Information & Publication Relations, University, of Jammu, Jammu.

Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati's Educational Thoughts—An Analysis

Dr. Sheetal Gupta*

Maharishi Swami Dayanand Saraswati, being six feet and six inches tall¹, a great hero with the athletic strength of Hercules², the most illustrious, intellectual, gifted with an exceptional power of knowledge³, learned Sanskrit scholar, a religious preceptor⁴, a deeper metaphysician⁵, a wonderful and forceful creator,⁶ effective writer⁷, fearless denunciator of evils, a true patriot, preserver and protector of Vedic culture with new interpretations⁸, was not only the founder of Arya Samaj Movement⁹, head and shoulders above all the greatmen of the world¹⁰ but also one of the great figures of Indian History in the last century¹¹. He preached equality of men from the house-top. The freedom of thought and action was his watch-word and a piece of loin cloth was only as his whole worldly possession¹². He proclaimed that the Vedas and Vedic Literature belonged to the entire humanity and thus had universal relevance for all times to come¹³. He was reviled, stoned and persecuted—even poisoned to death like Socrates. As his vision of the future was clear, his diagnosis of the ills from which the Indian body-politic suffered was perfect, he not only saw for ahead of his times but tried to provide remedies for the sufferings of our society.

His earnest desire to dispel ignorance and spread light made him a great champion of the cause of education. He desired that the Indian society to be vigorously dynamic

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and for that purpose he envisaged an educational programme based on the spirit of synthesis of the ancient spiritual heritage with modern scientific attitude. Believing that Lord Macaulay's system of education had compelled Indians to forget altogether their origin and their civilization from which other civilizations of the world derived their lot, he advocated the vedic system of education. He actually wanted to reconstruct the Indian education system on the basis of Vedic knowledge so that India might regain the glory of its ancestors.

Education was not an isolated thing for him, but the part of an organic whole and a social activity. He pointed out that a system of education that did not take into account the real state of society was not true education¹⁶. He was so much particular about the cause of education that he has explained his educational thoughts in two chapters of his famous work SATYARTHA PRAKASH—magnum opus¹⁷. A part of chapter second and entire third chapter have been devoted for this purpose.

AIMS OF EDUCATION

While discussing the aims of education Swami ji pointed out that as the pursuit of truth and attainment of wisdom are the greatest ideals of life and the aim of living and learning is to develop the natural man into the ideal man, the aim of the education should be to help students in their exploration of ultimate universal values so that the truth of the universe may become their truth and give power to their life. The children should therefore be adorned with good education, nobility of character, refinement of manners and amiability of temper. The complete realisation of these values should be ultimate goal of man and the education system should help them in their pursuit¹⁸. He rightly said "Blessed are the men or women whose minds are centred on the acquisition of knowledge, who possess sweet and amiable temper, who cultivate truthfulness and other similar virtues¹⁹".

While stressing the spiritual development as one of the aims of education, Swami Ji points out that the basic purpose of education is to enlighten the individual about the divine order and his place in it through the study of Vedas²⁰. Spiritual refinement of the pupil and polish and grace should therefore be ultimate goal of education.

As ethical principle of life and character building had been the essence of Indian education during Vedic period, the mere intellectual attainments are of no worth, if the

person is devoid of moral feelings and character. He therefore, blessed those men and women who were of good character²². He was of the view that the constructive criticism also led to the formation of good character²³. He added that virtues be inculcated among the students by living a life of industry, self-control, perseverance, penance, self-abnegation, temperance and continence²⁴.

Swami Ji was also of the view that education should be pursued and not for any public office or lucrative job²⁵. He defined knowledge as to know a thing exactly as it is. He added that pursuit of knowledge was as necessary as pursuit of food. According to him, "A fool may have food and may die simply because he has no knowledge as to how to use it²⁶". Thus, achievement of personality and appreciation of values, will become a reality with growing knowledge of the spiritual universe²⁷. He was of the view that the true knowledge is something more than mere imparting and learning of facts. He says "a person mugging up facts without assimilation is like a donkey carrying a load of sandalwood but not knowing the nature of sandalwood²⁸". The acquisition of knowledge has, therefore, had an essential place in the process of education.

While referring to the preparing students for good life as another aim of education, he said that only those were fit to be the members of a noble and organise community who had learnt in their school days a lesson of simple living and high thinking and discipline. He stressed that the structure of a society should be such that every-one learnt a profession which was not only useful to him but to the society as a whole²⁹.

In short the aims of education, according to him, should to produce a personality so well integrated that a student had intellectual calibre, realise spiritual values, maintain adequate control over emotional impulses and feelings, enjoy social happiness, possess good character and a creative mind to appraise the culture which he interacts. He therefore, puts the greatest premium on ethical basis of education and stressed character building aims³⁰.

HIS SCHEME OF STUDIES

Swami Dayananda was a great idealist, exponent of ancient Vedic culture and his interpretation of the Vedas has brought a new vista of knowledge in the sphere of social reform and educational reconstruction³¹. Giving a call "Back to the Vedas" his ear-

nest desire was to make his countrymen realise their golden ancient culture and spiritual heritage. He therefore, planned such a scheme of studies (curriculum) which should transform the Indian youth and the educational institutions into places of spirituality and cultural heritage. He was very much careful about the education of the child right from his infancy. His scheme of studies in order of priority given in Chapter Third of SATYARTH PRAKASH is as under³² :—

- (i) Learning paninis phonetics ;
- (ii) Learning of Grammer ;
- (iii) The study of 'NIGHANTU' AND 'NIRUKTA' books on Vedic vocabulary and philosophy ;
- (iv) The study of prosody (Pingal Shastra) for understanding the rules of poetry ;
- (v) The study of 'MANU SMIRTI' ; 'VALMIK RAMAYANA' 'VIDUR NITI' AND 'MAHABHARTA' in order to get rid of evil habits and become cultured ;
- (vi) Study of four Vedas together with their four 'BRAHMANS' ;
- (vii) Learning of four Upvedas dealing with medical science, Science of Government, the science of music and the Science of Mechanical Arts the Law of Matter and Motion ;
- (viii) The study of Astrology including mathematics, geography, astronomy, Algebra, Geometry, Engineering both Mechanical and Civil etc ;

The study of all the above subjects should however, be completed within a course of 20 or 21 years and all these subjects be studied in theory as well as in practice³³. Swami Ji recommended that the works of Rishis (Great scholars) should only be studied by the students because other books were not only based on secondary sources, personal prejudices but also biased and parochial in their outlook³⁴.

Swami Ji also stressed the need of physical education at school so that the child should also grow physically strong. All the children should be put to school after they had attained the age of eight or nine years and care should be taken to see that they lead a life of a 'Tapasvi' i.e. an austere life wedded to continence, free from even the thought of women³⁵. He stressed that all children, including of kings or their nobles or

of paupers should not only be sent to same schools but be bed and dressed alike³⁸. He stood for Gurukula system of education in place of current education system.

Our discussion shall be incomplete if we did not refer to his strong convictions about the women education, code for teachers and duties of parents. I may therefore, briefly refer about each of them as under :

WOMEN EDUCATION

In the great days of our country women were not only treated equals of men³⁸ but they had helped to civilize this and ent race.³⁹ The warmth of their heart, self sacrificing zeal, unassuming loyalty and strength in suffering, when subjected to trials of extreme severity, were among the glories of Indian women.⁴⁰ Swami Dayanand was, therefore, of the view that it would be great injustice if the women be kept like prisoners within the house⁴¹. Rather he saw no reason why women should be deprived of education.

As the women hope to shoulder many responsibilities including house-hold duties, Swami Ji wanted that they should possess at least a minimum knowledge only of the grammer, religions, medicines, mathematics but also of other subjects without which it would be difficult for her to discriminate between right and wrong, to beget children, and bring them up as useful citizens⁴³. He even pointed out that an illiterate women bereft of common sense might prove a curse to the family as a whole⁴⁴. As his scheme of studies was wide enough, he included the study of Mechanical Art, Arithmetic, Vedas, Scriptures, Grammer, Theology, Medicines etc. as necessary for women⁴⁵.

He however, desired separate institutions for girls which should purely be managed by women⁴⁶. Boys of even five years should not be allowed to enter the institutions run for girls⁴⁷. And same should be the case of institutions run for boys⁴⁸. He desired that the institutions of boys and girls should be located at least about ten miles away from clusters of human habitation and there should exist a distance of at least three to five miles betweenn them⁴⁹.

THE TEACHERS AND THEIR DUTIES

Swami Ji had prescribed certain primary qualifications for a teacher. He stressed that only those persons would be fit to undertakes the work of teaching who were thoroughly educated and virtuous. He instructed that even fellows who had given up the evil ways should not be appointed as teacher. He described that men devoted and

pledged to educate and build up the character of children should only find place in teaching profession⁵⁰.

He pointed out that the duty of a teacher is not only remaining busy with musty text-books and rusty black-boards, to provide intellectual, spiritual and social leadership, instruct his pupils to lead a virtuous life but to speak truth, never be negligent in learning and teaching, never neglect to serve his parents and tea-heres, preacher of true religion, love, virtues and shun vices and imbibe virtues and not faults and imperfections. Acting as an ideal for his students, an emblem of high character and symbol of identification, the teaching must mould the personality of the pupils so as to make them prosperous and strong citizens of India based on ancient Vedic culture.⁵¹ Swami Ji desired that a teacher's love for his country, passion for work, his untiring zeal, devotion to the noble profession and indomitable courage must produce in each of his pupil a gem, a national a gem, a national hero, a sage and a saint.⁵² He wanted that teachers should try to keep themselves aloof from loose talk and treat all children alike⁵³.

DUTIES OF THE STUDENTS

He stressed that the students should not only speak the truth but be truthful in words, deeds and thoughts. The students should never a hypocrite or a man of low character abstain from animal diet, liquors, restrain their minds from evil pursuits, free from all worldly anxieties not covet bodily comforts but devote themselves to the acquisition of knowledge and culture, observe Brahmcharya, study Vedas, keep the company of learned and pious people, have full control on their senses, fulfil their duties and obligations towards others and obey their parents and tutors⁵⁴. The students should imbibe teachers virtues and not their faults and imperfections.

TEACHER PUPIL RELATIONS

The teachers should try to make their pupils cultured, self-controlled, mannerly, physically and morally strong⁵⁵. The students should be quiet, devoted to teachers, thoughtful, diligent and try to achieve perfect learning, fullage and Unalloyed virtues and leve of work. Swamiji actually tried to recapture the spirit of the upnishadic times restore the same spiritual atmosphere in the matter of teacher-pupil relationship⁵⁶. He desired that teachers and taught should read true scriptures..... not parrot-like but with a clear understanding of their meaning and significance. He said that man alone

could become a great scholar who had the advantage of three good tutors father, mother and teachers.

ROLE OF PARENTS

Swamiji wanted that parents should decorate their children with the ornaments of highest education, training qualities and habits of a worthwhile nature.⁵⁸. It is, therefore, their highest religious obligation to devote all their energy, mind and wealth to the imparting of knowledge to the children⁵⁹. The mere fact that Swamiji wanted that children should worship their parents proved that he held parents in high regard and had very great reverence for them⁶⁰. The parents, he says "should develop in children the habit of self-restraint, love of learning and good company, to shun pernicious games, unnecessary weeping and laughing, quarrel, pleasure, moreseness, attachment to an object, envy, ill-will⁶¹ etc.

RELEVANCE OF HIS EDUCATIONAL THOUGHTS

Although the educational thoughts of eminent philosophers are generally conditioned by the politic-socio-economic considerations of their times yet some of them have relevance for all times to come. Same is true about the educational thoughts of Swami Dayanand Saraswati.

However, in the complex world of nuclear age, total war, moral and ethical degeneration, total annihilation of eastern values, engulfment and undermining of eternal virtues with the spreading of materialism, activation of the forces of destruction and danger of uncalled foreign aggressions, there is not only a need of an educational system for reconstruction of national and emotional unity of mankind but also to transform man to serve the humanity.

In India time has changed considerably since the beginning of this century and more revolutionary changes have taken place in the recent decades especially after independence which ushered a new era of national reconstruction. With the inauguration of the Five Year Plans, the launching out the Community Development Programmes and explosion of media in this country, we are witnessing an awakening of the masses, a mass upheaval and growing social consciousness. All these are no doubt engineering tremendous changes in the minds and hearts of the common man. With the result, we no longer today face the so-called ignorant

laity' of the last century in its pristine form but a different personality is in the making. Inspite of all this, there is tremendous relevance of some of the educational thoughts of Swami Dayanand even in the contemporary Indian situations.

By advocating the Vedic system of education he inspired all of us to battle, though single-handed against the massed forces of evils, reactionary, fanaticism, superstition and pull the tempest-tossed boat of Indian cultural heritage to the peace and safety. In quest to be free from sorrow and suffering, his insistence to the students to search for truth, observe strict discipline and to lead a life of true Brahmacharya is still have primary importance under the shadow of materialism, nudeness and vulgarity of today. Character building, of which we all hear so much nowadays, occupied a prominent place in his scheme of education. Moreover, in the present atmosphere of sectarianism, parochialism, regionalism and casteism which has generated hatred between man and man, his view that the true character building would only be possible if boys and girls be taught of their duty to God and man is still relevant in Indian context. His plea that a long course of 18 years hard study demanded a store of energy and vitality in the young which was not at all possible for them to possess without enforcing on them a life of celibacy and insistence of chastity and Brahmacharya is very much needed even nowadays. But children should not unnecessarily be chastised or villified so that inhibitions may not set in. His motto of simple living and high thinking as one of the essential conditions of student life, should also be the ultimate goal of our contemporary education system. In the atmosphere of general complaint of the low level of intellectual development of our students because of a wide gulf separating students from the teachers and the secret of the success of Cambridge and Oxford student due to personal touch between the tutor and the ward, there is still a need of the closest teacher-pupil relations. His propose Gurukula system can also be valuable in these days so far as a direct personal and continuous contact wish the teacher of noble character these will help to mould the mind of the younger learner during the most impressionable period of his life. But whether the teacher-pupil relations as stipulated by Swamiji can be attempted with success in the present context is rather a debatable questions. His system of education in which the rich and the poor, the high and the low, the prince and the peasant all reading the eating together, living the same life, undergoing the same discipline is the most urgent requirement of the day in the contemporary democratic India where the Mandal Commission and reservation Politics have generated socio-politics economic structure of our society. His opposition to co-education even at the primary level where children were innocent, may not be acceptable

today because of paucity of resources. His plea for free and compulsory education to all has already found place in the Directive Principles of State Policy in Part IV of Indian Constitution. His much respected principle of truth i.e. Satya Eva Jayatis is also the constitutionally accepted principle of our country. His proposed code of conduct for the parents, teachers and taught is also a need of the day. In our society this principle of reverence has been an age-old and time honoured one and this is still being persisted today in a faint form

His looking at teaching from an ethical angle may not always be possible in these days because the purpose of education, apart from its general values, is quite different for different persons, depending upon the goal which each sets forth for oneself and tries to achieve it. In the total social confusion and economic scarcity, his stress that each person should curve out his own destiny by his own efforts and society and state should state should simply to provide the necessary conditions for his growth and development, is also need of the day. His insistence that boys and girls be allowed to marry after the completion of their 18 years education, if strictly heeded today, the problem of population explosion can be mitigated to a greater extent. His advice on speech i.e., shun bitter language, speak only true and sweet words and avoid talktiveness, because bitterness in language simply generates animosities and rancour" is a golden principle of social life for all generations in all the times. It is also the well even nowadays that "brevity in the soul of wit."

While offering his reverence to Swami Dayanand Saraswati Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore has rightly said on July 15, 1933 "I offer my homage of veneration to Swami Dayanand, the great path-maker in modern India—who with a clear sighted vision of truth and courage of determination preached and worked for our self-respect and vigorous adjustment of mind that could strive for a harmonious adjustment with progressive spirit of modern age and at the same time keep in perfect touch with that glorious past of India, when it revealed its personality in freedom of thought and action, in an unclouded radiance of spiritual realisation."⁶² I may, therefore, conclude with the remarks that in the history of modern India Swami Dayanand will be known not only as a religious reformer, one of the fathers of the great renaissance but a great educationalist of his times and architect of modern India.

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GANDHI, NEHRU AND BOSE

BY

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Among India's nationalist leaders in the inter-war years, Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose were, next to the Mahatma, the most charismatic figures. They seemed to have much in common. Both came from westernized homes; both were sons of successful lawyers who could afford to give them the best education available in India or England. Nature endowed them both with beauty and brains; their Cambridge degrees enhanced their pride and self-confidence. Both managed to escape the comfortable anonymity of the Indian Civil Service- the el Dorado of brilliant and ambitious middle class youth. Jawaharlal entered the legal profession and became his father's junior at the Allahabad High Court; Bose successfully competed for the I.C.S., but resigned from it within a year, because it was impossible "to serve both masters at the same time, namely, the British Government and my country."¹

Both Jawaharlal and Subhas Bose were full of nationalist fervour while they were still in their teens. Jawaharlal's letters from Harrow and Cambridge reveal a strong nationalist streak, and deep sympathy with Tilak's school of extremist politics. The

patriotism of Subhas Bose had led to clash with his British professors and his rustication from Calcutta's Presidency College for two years. Eighteen months at Cambridge did not dampen his nationalist ardour.

Stirred to his depths by the accounts of the non-cooperation movement, he threw up his job in the I.C.S., and decided to take his place in the fight for the freedom of his country.

It is a singular fact that both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Bose entered politics at a high level; young Nehru at once became a favourite disciple of the Mahatma, and Bose did not take long to become the political heir-apparent of C. R. Das, 'the uncrowned King of Bengal. By the late twenties, both Jawaharlal and Subhas were the heroes of India's youth and the *bete noires* of the British authorities.

Subhas Bose once described Jawaharlal as 'his friend in arms.' Jawaharlal and Bose could indeed have become 'friends-in-arms',² but circumstances conspired to prevent this consummation. Apart from their intellectual and temperamental differences, what divided them was their response to Gandhi's personality and politics. The leadership of the Mahatma, which had originally sucked them both into the vortex of nationalist politics prevented them from coming together.

Of all the Stalwarts of India's freedom struggle, Subhas Chandra Bose, popularly known as Netaji came under the influence of Gandhi and his teachings. Bose had very high regard for Gandhi as a man, as is evident from his broadcasts from abroad on Gandhi's birthday and Kasturba's death. Gandhi

believed in non-violence which Bose did not consider a very efficacious means in politics. Both differed on ideological grounds. But the national cause was dear to both. They shared the hopes and aspirations and dreamt the same lofty dreams.

The relationship between Gandhi and Bose and Gandhi and Nehru, despite their temperamental differences and conflicting attitudes, retained its sheen because of the conviction in their hearts that each, in his own way, served the causes of the nation. Freedom for India was a cause to which they willingly gave their all, in the pursuit of the objective, each struck to his ideas, refused to make any compromise be accommodated the views of the other because their stances were, almost always, diametrically opposed when Bose, who had at first been drawn to Gandhi, slowly drifted apart, unable fully to go along with Gandhi's non-violence in the face of the militancy of the regime, the break was notable one. But when Bose stood defiantly against Gandhi's candidate Pattabhi Sita Rammayya and the right to preside over the Indian National Congress. Gandhi considered it as his own defeat.³ The turmoil which rocked the party which defied the Gandhi, but shied away once the members saw the deep anguish they had caused to the apostle of non-violence, ended with Bose's complete alienation from Gandhi, as far as political strategy was concerned. The mutual regard they had for each other lingered on, but there was much rancor and fury which forced Bose to trail a lonely path. Unable to adjust to the changing scenario, convinced that the time was ripe for Indian fighters to exploit the situations which had developed after the outbreak of the Second World War and the continuous reverses that Britain

and the allied powers suffered, he decided to align with Germany and Japan on the prior condition that after the cessation of hostilities, India would be accepted by the Axis power as a free and Independent nation. This quest took him out of the India. His dramatic escape and the trail of glory which he blazed during the short but impressive days of the Indian National Army inspires us even today. His reported tragic death in an air crash ended the saga. But the nation remembers him with love and respect.

Subhas Chandra Bose, presumably earned so much admiration and laurels for the saga of demonstrated courage, vision and sacrifice and at the same time have been the target of an equal amount of condemnation as a political personality of the Indian National Movement just because for his arrogance, refusal to compromise and seeming lack of realism. He was one of the most acclaimed heroes fighting for India's liberation from the yoke of British colonial rule; as a national leader he enjoyed equal status with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but to many his personality was most attractive of the three and his reputation in certain area even rivalled that of Gandhi himself. In his manner and political style, in ideology and action, Bose represents a unique phenomenon in India's national Movement. While Gandhi has been viewed as the father of Indian Awakening. Bose is seen as the father of Indian Revolution.⁴

Both Nehru and Bose entered the political arena at a time when Gandhi was the undisputed leader of the Indian National Congress. Bose himself recorded in his book The Indian Struggle 1920-34: "So great was the enthusiasm and respect in the people about Gandhi at AICC session at Nagpur in 1920 that when M.A.

Jinnah, who was still then a nationalist leader, addressed him as Mr. Gandhi, he was shouted down by the thousands of people who insisted that he should address him as Mahatma Gandhi"⁵

Subhas Chandra Bose was a pragmatic revolutionary strategist and a politician of top order who had to innovate conceptual ideas on strategy at a time when there was very little intellectual framework for coping with the practical problems of politics, Nehru was also very much like him. Their conceptual ideas were, indeed, unique in the sense that the domestic frame of his multifaceted struggle was inseparable from the external linkages that he sought to develop and cultivate. Thus, their vision of politics in general was an all-encompassing one and in that sense one might suggest that he laid his faith in a general theory of strategy with all its linkage components. Having developed their framework they sought to apply all their theoretical concepts to test them on the slippery ground of politics of his time.

Basically, Bose's struggle was for a state that was nonexistent as a free political entity and for a country that had lost its dignity in the comity of nations because of an imposed colonial bondage. His youthful dream, as he wrote to his mother, was merely to be 'an adventurer', but in the end he emerged to many Indian revolutionaries as the 'Man of Destiny' or 'Netaji'-the revered leader-who could have delivered the Indian nation not merely its freedom and independence but also the much cherished development, equality and social justice as well as restore India's lost prestige in the comity of nations; but the fateful events of history had cut short his mission and did not permit him to immediately deliver what he had visualised.⁶

An overview of the Gandhi-Subhas ideology clash reveals a sense of anxiety that both had with regard to the future goal India was to strive for. Gandhi's end was Sarvodaya - the all round development of man and society, which included, of course, both moral and material betterment. This was a part of his ideal i.e. the emergence of a new man and a new society. His Sarvodaya was inclusive of the socialism of his conception, but he gave priority to moral rehabilitation. Bose gave prominence to ending economic suffering and exploitation, by, bringing about in India a Socialist state of their conception.

About the immediate goal, namely, India's Independence, the trio was one. But there certainly was anxiety in both as to the technique they advocated and adopted to achieve their goals, both immediate and future.

As a genuine leaders Bose and Nehru had proved how-to sacrifice everything for the sake of attaining one of his biggest and cherished goals in life, that is, to liberate the Motherland India from the clutches of British imperialism. They were not interested in just negotiation for transfer of power from the British hand to Indian hands by breaking the country into two parts: India and Pakistan. He was aware that some leaders were interested to act as "power brokers" between them and the mischievous colonialist. While fighting the British Subhas clearly stated that Britain is India's enemy and Britain's enemy is India's friend. It was his strong sense of nationalism that distinguished him from others. Mahatma Gandhi called Bose "patriot of patriots" and Nehru as a jewel among men.⁷

Gandhi wanted to have the support, or at least sympathy, of all sections of society. The path of least internal confrontation, according to Gandhi, was the best course to tread for the realization of the immediate and the future goals. Gandhi, therefore, wanted to bring the Congress Socialists to the line of his non-violence. He also wanted them to adopt indigenous socialism of the spinning wheel, with economic and political decentralization as its chief characteristics. This, he hoped could be brought about non-violently by arousing man to his latent moral values.

Both Jawahar and Subhas, on the other hand, believed that Gandhi's idealism, both in terms of the objectives and the technique for their realization, was cut off from the objective conditions of life existing in India. They found the Indian owning class - the capitalists and the landlords - and its foreign protectors -- the British - too selfish to respond to Gandhi's appeals to their conscience and reason. Therefore, Bose had no patience with Gandhi's patience to bring about a change heart in the native and foreign exploiters.

Whatever their differences may be Subhas always respected Gandhi from the core of his heart and always sought his blessings. "It will be a tragic thing for us," said Subhas, immediately after this episode, "if I succeed in winning the confidence of other people but fail to win the confidence of India's greatest son."⁸ Subhas was the first man who called Gandhi "Father of the Nation" and asked for his blessings for INA.⁹

Gandhi always admired the bravery, self-sacrifice, patriotism, and organisational capability of Subhas and used to

ask the other Congress leaders to learn these qualities from Bose. Speaking at a prayer meeting in 1946, he said: "Netaji [Subhas] was like a son to me. I came to know him as a lieutenant full of promise. His last message to the INA was that, whilst on foreign soil they had fought with arms, on their return to India they would have to serve the country as soldiers of nonviolence under the guidance and leadership of the Congress."¹⁰

Undoubtedly these illustrious sons of India had deep personal regard for each other, in spite of their equally deep differences over matters of public policy. In fact, their relations bear testimony to Gandhi's formula that difference of opinion is no bar to union of hearts. This conforms to his experience that our differences may be the result of looking at the truth from different angles and not the result of any evil design on the part of the opponent. Accordingly, one should bear with the views of the opponent even while remaining steadfast to one's own convictions.

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Relevance of Nehru's Ideas in the era of Globalization

Baljit Singh*

The present age is the age of globalization. Globalization is a phenomenon, which has affected the life of the millions of people across the globe. It is dismantling the physical barriers but at the same time increasing the gap between the rich and poor. Some people have benefited from it, whereas, the other have suffered because of its ill affects. Globalisation is inevitable fact and no country can afford to ignore. Therefore, the nation-states from the different part of the globe introduced the globalization in 1970s and 1980s.

India has also gone global, since fifteen years from now. Under this process India has opened-up its economy to the outside world by introducing the first-generation economic reforms in 1991. The main stress of these reforms has been remained on liberalization, privatization, and globalization. India further tried to consolidate the process of globalization of Indian economy by introducing the second-generation economic reforms in 2000. Through these reforms, India is trying to integrate its economy into the world economy and thereby to enjoy the benefits of globalization. These reforms have resulted into the paradigm shift in the Indian economy from mixed to market friendly. This shift has posed a qualitative as well as quantitative change in the nature of Indian economy. As this paradigm shift is due to globalization, which has posed a huge question to Nehruvian socialism, India introduced by opting for the mixed economy in the 1950s and his policy of non-alignment. Therefore, the main thrust of this paper will be to explore the relevance of Nehru's idea of socialism, nationalism and his policy of non-alignment.

Socialism

In order to understand, the relevance of Nehruvian socialism in the era of globalization, it is essential to have a quick survey of his views about socialism. In 1933, in a series of articles entitled, 'Whither India?', Nehru spelt out his socialist faith at some length and argued that the capitalist system had outlived its day and had to give way to a better and saner order of human affairs.¹

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In 1936, he wrote to Lord Lothian that the transition to socialism would require nationalization of the instruments of production and distribution. One of the most emphatic statements of Nehru's socialist faith was made during the same year in his presidential address to the Lucknow Congress. There was, he said, no way of ending the poverty and subjection of the Indian people except through socialism. Nehru's avowed faith in socialism evoked controversy within the Indian National Congress, however, his presidential speech thrilled members of the Congress Socialist Party, which had been formed in 1934 when he was in prison. The crisis of 1936 was resolved; but it had a chastening effect upon Nehru; he decided to subordinate ideological considerations to his overriding loyalty to Gandhi's leadership and to the Congress party as the chief instrument of the anti-imperialist struggle. This tactical flexibility was facilitated by the fact that Nehru's socialism had never been doctrinaire. The advantages of pragmatic approach became clearer to Nehru when he presided over the National Planning Committee of the Congress in 1939-40².

In 1944, in his book, *Discovery of India*, Nehru advocated economic planning in the context of democratic freedom and with a large measure of cooperation of some at least of the groups who were normally opposed to socialist doctrine.... If (class) conflict was inevitable, it had to be faced; but if it could be avoided or minimized that was an obvious gain³. This was a far cry from the call for a full-blooded socialist society Nehru had made from his presidential chair at the Lucknow Congress. Socialism was to be ushered in not at one blow, nor to be imposed on the country; its introduction was to be graduated to fit in with the needs of the country. Nationalisation of key industries was to be undertaken, but a wide field was to be left for private enterprise; both the public and private sectors were to coexist in a system of mixed economy. This was of course, a compromise⁴.

Not until December 1954 did he ask the Parliament to pass a resolution declaring that the object of the country's economic policy was a socialist pattern of society. In January 1955 a similar resolution was adopted by the Indian National Congress at its Avadi session on planning in India with a view to the

establishment of a socialistic pattern of society when the principal means of production are under social ownership or control, production is progressively speeded up, and there is an equitable distribution of national wealth. He resisted the temptation of indulging in ideological polemics and populist rhetoric. His emphasis was on the content rather than on the definition of socialism⁵. He said in March 1949:

‘Our problem is to raise the standard of the masses, supply them with their needs, give them the wherewithal to lead a decent life.... I do not care what ‘ism’ it is that helps me to set them on the road provided I do it. And if one thing fails, we will try another’⁶.

The basic philosophy of the second and third five year plans- which were launched in Nehru’s lifetime – was the development of the Indian economy along socialist lines to achieve rapid economic growth, expansion of employment, reduction in disparities of income and wealth, and promotion of values and attitudes of a free and egalitarian society⁷.

D. R. Gadgil, who became Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission under Indira Gandhi, wrote in 1959, that ‘planning as such does not operate in India today. There are only schemes of public expenditure or of aid to private or cooperative enterprises. Gunnar Myrdal, the Nobel-Laureate Swedish economist, detected the same lacunae in Indian planning:

The core of all the plans was the programme and in some respects a forecast of public and private investment. The plans were not operational in the sense that they avoided giving even broad directions for various levels of government policy, as for instance, interest rates and exchange controls⁸.

Nehru’s belief that public ownership of the means of production would promote a high degree of social responsibility and work-ethic stemmed from his socialist creed, but it proved illusory. There were unconscionable delays in the execution of several public sector projects, and after they were completed, their utilization often fell short of their capacity because their management tended to be bureaucratized and the workers’ unions were more intent on extracting their pound of flesh than on raising productivity. Despite its huge size and massive

investment, the public sector failed to generate enough surplus for further investment⁹.

In the recent liberalization of the Indian economy, there is an understandable temptation to decry Nehru's socialist proclivities and economic planning. He has been accused of an obsession with the public sector and an antipathy to private enterprise. T. Thomas, who had the opportunity of watching the Indian industry scene at close quarters both in the Nehru and post-Nehru eras, has effectively refuted this charge against Nehru:

Many people have forgotten and the young people have experienced the period following our independence when the government actually encouraged and facilitated the entry of private sector businessmen into several manufacturing industries. That is when the Tatas, Birlas, escorts, Thapars, MRF and many others began to spread their wings¹⁰.

India's economic crisis in the early 1990s could have been avoided or at least considerably moderated if Nehru's successors had modified his policies to suit the changed economic realities in the 1970s and 1980s. There was nothing inherently wrong in using the state as a catalyst for economic development and social justice. What was wrong was not state intervention, but the kind of state intervention practiced under the Indian planning regime¹¹.

Globalization thus does not altogether do away with economic nationalism, it only spurs it to new forms and to the working out of new balances between the two. While globalization has limits, so does economic nationalism. While some state protection of the national economy may be justified in relation to external markets, excessive amounts of it can fore-stall taking advantage of the growth-inducing impulses that the international economy may provide. Similarly, excessive state intervention internally is likely to lead to serious economic distortions¹².

But India being a developing country cannot do without state intervention. Although the liberalization cure is justified where serious economic distortions exist, as a wholesale prescription it is likely to encounter obstacles it fails to take into account the legitimate role of states in the economy. States are compelled to intervene in market, because markets exist for human groups, and not human

groups for markets. Human groups are prior to markets and they organize themselves into political entities, called states in the modern era, for important and compelling reasons. With their two key concerns of national security in relation to the outside world and legitimacy in relation to domestic society, states have a paramount interest in the economy and therefore intervene in it. Capital may be internally mobile, but legitimacy is rooted in states. Accordingly, for states to surrender entirely to markets, whether external or internal, would be to destroy the very basis of states. It is, therefore, no surprise that economic nationalism continues to be very much alive, not least in the developed countries¹³.

Non-alignment

The globalization also posed a huge question to relevance of the policy of non-alignment. After independence, India adopted non-alignment as its foreign policy posture but now the question arises regarding its relevance in the age of globalization. As the turn of the 1990s, the Congress party, which was the architect of the NAM abroad and state socialism at home during the 1950s, now had the charge to lead India's economic reforms. The imperatives of economic globalization and reconstruction of Indian foreign policy in a world without the Soviet Union compelled India to reject the old commitments to non-alignment and the NAM. The inertia of non-alignment continued in India's public pronouncements, but more as a matter of routine and without any sense of the old fire. The Leftists, who denounced the economic liberalization of the 1990s, inevitably targeted the foreign policy changes. India's new attempts to cosy up to the United States and the West was seen by the Left as giving up on India's independent foreign policy¹⁴.

In the many parliamentary elections that took place in the 1990s, the BJP made no reference to either non-alignment at the principle feature of India's foreign policy or renewed commitment to the NAM. The Congress was far more circumspect, emphasizing the non-aligned roots of India's foreign policy but making a bow to the demands of the new global order. In its manifesto for the

general elections of 1998, the Congress party paid 'a great tribute to the foresight and wisdom of Jawaharlal Nehru' for creating a foreign policy framework that remains intact in its basics and fundamentals. At the same time, the manifesto made no reference to either non-alignment or NAM. Instead it went on to argue that in the new situation, 'economics, commerce and trade are the new languages of diplomacy. The party at once acknowledged the diplomatic legacy of Nehru and implicitly endorsed the changes introduced by the last Congress government under Narasimha Rao¹⁵.

Although Vajpayee attended the NAM Summit in Durban, South Africa, in 1998 and offered to host the next summit when Bangladesh backed off from its initial offer in 2001, the movement was not one of his political priorities. India's former Principal Secretary and National Security Adviser, Brajesh Mishra, summed up the shift in India's attitude towards non-alignment and the NAM when he declared,

In the post-Nehru period, non-alignment became a mantra just as Gandhiji's non-violent struggle had become the moral path'; the fact that these policies were grounded in strict rationality and realpolitik was lost sight of. Escapism was often couched as being principled, and I can safely state that neither Gandhi nor Nehru would have appreciated being made into icons to propagate dogma. There is a new India today that is ready to question these shibboleths and take decisions on the basis of national interest.

India's non-alignment also had a pragmatic economic content, the foreign policy establishment argued. In refusing to align with either bloc, it was believed, India could make considerable economic gains in the all-pervasive rivalry between East and West. These sorts of rationalizations for non-alignment, however, could no longer be sustained in New Delhi in the aftermath of cold war. The old economic strategy needed to be modified amidst a new wave of globalization and India's own relative political decline in the world. India had to come to terms with the reality that it was on the losing side of the cold war, the Soviet Union was a footnote in history, and its own finances were in shambles. The challenge of the 1990s for India was to discover ways beyond non-alignment

to restore India's standing in world affairs. Even as the domestic debate on the national policy of non-alignment moved ahead, India also had to deal with the implications of the marginalization of the NAM¹⁶.

Nationalism & Secularism

Nehru's ideas about nationalism and secularism are also being confronted with new challenges in the era of globalization. He was a great champion of secularism and tried to base Indian nationalism on secularism and a common national language like Hindi. Keeping in view the diversity of Indian society, Nehru used to talk about composite culture and tried to construct the Indian national identity on the basis of the ideology of nationalism and principle of unity in diversity and diversity in unity.

Both the ideas of nationalism and secularism along with national unity are facing rough weather in the 1990s, which is considered as the phase of globalization. In this phase, the politics of identities has replaced the politics of ideas in the Indian politics. The identities are being constructed on the basis of religion, caste, market and gender etc. For instance, Hindu identity on the basis of ideology of Hindutva, OBC identity on the basis of caste, market identity on the basis of globalization and women identity on the basis of gender have dominated the Indian politics in the recent past. Not only that the globalization further reinforced the local and regional social cultural identities in the Indian politics.

Thus globalization, while providing for greater inter-communication between and within nations, was also causing increased fragmentation of broad national identities. At the national level, local cultures stood in danger of losing their individual identities. Smaller identities were getting reinforced for example, ethnic, cultural, religious, language, and gender identities. Thus globalization while on the one hand was inter-connecting the world, on the other hand was providing a threat to local and regional cultures¹⁷. Hall (1997: 200) argue that the present era was characterized not by cultural uniformity, but by the resurgence of ethnic identities throughout the world i. e. racism in western Europe, neo-fascism in Russia, Islamic fundamentalism throughout Middle East

and in Africa¹⁸ argued that the medium may integrate people globally, but the message may promote political and social fragmentation.

Concluding Observations

In nutshell, it can be concluded that the Nehru's ideas of socialism, nationalism and non-alignment are confronted in the era of globalization. The economic reforms introduced by India in the 1990s, have made a significant departure from Nehruvian socialism, which was incorporated in the mixed model of Indian economy immediately after independence. Nehru was not against globalization but he was against indiscriminate globalization. In his socialism, he recognizes the role of market but he was not in favour of market economy. His conviction was that the state as a legitimate institution has to play an important role in the economy of country. Actually he wanted to establish a balance between the market and state in the economy. For the former the profit is the sole motive, whereas for the latter the well being of the people is major consideration that is why he argued that the state should regulate the economy. It can be argued that Nehru was in favour of Indian brand of globalization, which suits to the Indian requirements. But at present, India introduced globalization indiscriminate manners, which is a cause of concern for every Indian.

Nehru's idea of non-alignment has lost its relevance, if we have a quick look at the foreign policy of India in the post cold war period. The foreign policy decisions taken by India under the rule of Congress, the NDA and UPA dispensations in the post Soviet world indicate that India has made a departure from its policy of non-alignment, which gave India a unique identity in the world politics during the cold war period. It appears that after Soviet disintegration India has came close to the United States of America. Now India's foreign policy does not believe in the principle of equidistance or non-alignment but in principle of engagement and containment.

His idea of nationalism is also facing rough weather. India tried to build the national identity on the basis of the ideology of nationalism. His ideology of nationalism was based on secularism, common national language and composite

culture. He was a great believer in the politics of ideas. This is replaced by politics of identities in the 1990s. The national identity of India is being confronted by the local cultural identities. Globalization has further reinforced the local cultural identities, which is a potential threat to the national identity of India.

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¹⁴ C. Raja Mohan, *Crossing the Rubicon: The Shaping of India's New Foreign Policy*, New Delhi: Viking, 2003, p. 33.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 35-36.

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¹⁷ Leela D' Souza, "Identity Formation and Pluralism: The Need to Reconstruct Identities", *Social Action*, 53 (4), October-December 2003, 414.

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The roots of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedom of individuals have been traced from humanitarian traditions, the unceasing struggle for human freedom and equality of individuals and historic pronouncements of philosophers, political leaders, statesmen in different centres in general and in 20th century in particular. It found its first expression in Magna Carta of 1215.

The concept of Human Rights is also said to be originated with the historic documents and revolutions such as American Declaration of Independence (1776), French Declaration of Rights of Man (1789) and Bolshevik Revolution (1917). Its progress through the historical path was, therefore, gradual and never lost its links with the past.

The promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedom of individuals in the present form, thus, stemmed directly from the O. N. Charter.

Human Right situation in pakistan.

Being terrified by the inhumanity unleashed by the world war second, the international community drew up a charter of peace and a statement of faith in the form of Declaration of Human Rights just after the war. The world community has now realised that a good governance is impossible to be achieved without placing Human Rights at the central stage in their policies.

The Human Right philosophy to day is, therefore, not only as the protection of individuals and their civil liberties but as a wide concept of ensuring social justice to all. The modern concept of Human Rights evolved by U.N.O, therefore, transcend the national boundaries and included in U.N. charter.

The most of the nations have, thus, constituted their own Human Rights Commissions at national levels to monitor Human Rights enforcement and to check their flagrant violations.

Moreover, every nation is subjected to international scrutiny by the world organisations to indict a member state for the violation of Human Rights.

In spite of the fact that various agencies and commissions at national as well as at international levels have been constituted, still Human Rights are being violated all the world over in some form or the other in general but in Third world nations in particular.

The Human Rights situation in pakistan is still worse because those who are responsible to protect

Human Rights
enables
the
human

⁽¹⁾ In other words the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
adopted by UN General Assembly in 1948, UN Covenant adopted by Assembly in 1966
and United Nations Juridic Bureau of Human Rights impose obligations on all countries to promote and protect Human Rights.

(2)

Human Rights simply protect and abet their violators.

The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan in its interim Report of 1993 had also drawn attention to this dangerous paradox.

It is of the view that there is no indication yet of Pak's readiness to announce the acceptance of International norms on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of her citizens irrespective of their religion, caste, sex, political affiliation, sect etc. etc.

U.S. State Dept Report on Human Rights situation in Pakistan 1993 also expressed concern over the Human Rights situation in Pakistan. It confirmed that religious groups not only continued to discriminate against but also persecute non-Muslim. The Pak Govt, did little to curb these activities.

Asian Human Right Watch, in its report of Sept 19, 1993 rightly pointed out:

Govt, efforts to Islamize Pak civil and criminal laws, which began in early 1980's have dangerously undermined fundamental rights and freedom of religion and expression as well as led to serious abuses against women, children, country's religious minorities, Blach, people of Pak areas, POW, the honour killings are still continued.

Women. Asian Human Right Watch pointed in its report of Sept. 19, 1993 pointed out the pitiable condition of the fair sex. Efforts are being made in Pakistan to raise entire generation to distrust and dislike any women who deviated from norms of good, house bound, veiled, effacing, self-sacrifice and to treat them as second class citizens. Despite clear injunctions in the Korn and civil law, women generally do not receive their due share in family inheritance. In rural Pakistan the practice of a woman "marrying the Korn" is still widely accepted, if her family cannot arrange a suitable marriage, to keep the family wealth intact. Moreover, rape and abolation of women are viewed by society and court as property dispute. Amnesty International in its report Dec. 1993 pointed out that there were several cases of sexual abuse of women by police. The HRCP in its interim report 1993 pointed out that:

"A woman was raped every three ^{young} years,
every another one raped was a minor,
and every fourth one was a gang raped."

In increasing numbers of cases influential persons were involved.

Police excesses against women in custody and stripping the victim by police was a routine matter there. (4)

The requirement "that closer examination of women should only be made by women and that woman held should be transferred to judicial custody" was customarily ignored.

There are several instances in which ~~women~~ have been humiliated during arrest by being forced to strip naked in front of family members of opposite gender.

(5) on Feb. 27, 1994 police from Tando Jan police station severely beaten a 14 years old caste Hindu girl after arresting her on the charge of theft.

(ii)

(4)

The family laws as well as traditional social and legal constraints remained discriminatory against women and kept them in a subordinate position in society. Some 100,000 or one out of 30 women were divorced in 1993.

Even the Council of Islamic Ideology postponed ruling on whether, according to Islam, a woman could be a ruler, a judge and whether her evidence was admissible in Islamic punishment.

All reports of sexual assault of women were blacked out from the media.

HUDOOD law require a woman to produce four pious Muslim witnesses to get a rapist convicted.

'Daily Yomiuri' - a Japanese paper on Nov. 11, 1993 reported that in interpretations of Hudood laws equate rape with Fornication and punished women instead of rapists.

'The News' - a ^{new} paper of January 10, 1994 informed that 2,500 women were raped in 1993.

Even disgruntled husbands and fathers can bring charges of adultery against their wives and daughters, who on the basis of such accusation, often un supported by eye evidence are arrested and imprisoned.

children.

and 15 to 17 kilograms.

The problems of kidnapping and smuggling small children to gulf countries (UAE, Bahrain, Qatar, & Kuwait) (as camel jockeys) for camel race as well as using children as bonded labourers also remained wide spread in spite of legislations to restrict these practices. The U.S. State Dept. in its report of 1993 pointed out that about ten million children upto age of 15 years were then engaged in different trades in the frontier provinces in violation of Human Rights laws. The worst victims of this heinous crime were the brick kiln workers around Peshawar.

① The poorer kids between 5 to 7 years of age and with the weight of 15 to 17 kilograms are being lured into the trap by the promise of lucrative jobs in the Gulf, are soon uprooted for cruel camel race in UAR, Bahrain, Qatar & Kuwait as camel jockeys.

The race begins as a child is strapped to the back of camel with a rope and the camel is whipped into a frenzy. It is further propelled by the petrified shrieks of the frightened child. When a child falls during a race there is a very high probability of his being crushed under the feet of the camels. This is the worst kind of child labour, necessitating strict action by the Govt, against all those involved in this' dirty business.)

Religious Minority

Jubile Campaign organisation as well as DAWN in Nov. 1993 highlighted the violence of minority rights in Pakistan. Dawn pointed that:

"Though under Art. 7 of UNO Human Right Charter as well as Art 36 of the Pak Constitution the govt. is bound to protect the life and property of minorities yet it has miserably failed to protect their rights and take no notice of these gross violations of the rights of minorities."

The main ~~religious~~ minority groups in Pakistan are the Hindus, Christians, Ahmidis, Sikhs, Brahmins, Shias like Brahmins common communities.

→ Asia Watch observed:

"That civil and criminal laws have dangerously undermined fundamental rights, freedom of religion and expression, and have led to serious abuses against the country's religious minorities."

The incorporation of Eight Amendment in Pak Constitution in 1985, which introduced a system of separate electorates for religious minorities has served discrimination against them and have deprived them of the full citizenship right to vote and political campaigning. In other words this voting ~~system~~ segregation has the effect of diluting the already diminished influence of the minority community in policies.

Mobile campaign organisations highlighted the violence of minority rights in Pakistan. Even 'Down' on Nov. 6, 1993 pointed out that though under Art 7 of U.N. Human Rights Charter as well Art 36 of the pak Constitution the Govt. bound to protect the life & property of the minorities yet it has miserably failed to protect these rights and taken no notice of the gross violation of the rights of minorities. It also reported the violation of minority rights of Hindus, Christians, Ahmadis, Sindhis, Balochis, Sikhs, and Shi'a communities in Pakistan. Asia Watch recently observed that civil & criminal criminal laws have dangerously undermined fundamental rights, freedom of religion and expression, and have led to serious abuses against the country's religious minorities. The incorporation of eight Amendment in Constitution in 1985, which introduced a system of separate electorates for religious minorities has serve discrimination against them and have deprived them of the full citizenship right to vote and political campaigning. In other words this voting segregation has the effect of diluting the already diminished influence of the minority community in Politics.

The Human Right Commission of Pakistan in its interim report of 1993 reported the violation against and denial of Human Rights to the Hindus. The Park Hindus complaints about kidnapping, forced conversion of their young women, confiscation of the Hindu Shrine, and burning of Hindus' texts and torture of detained Hindus. The Committee for justice and peace in a press conference on Feb 28, 1994 highlighted the increasing incidents of kidnapping of Hindu girls who after captivity of 10 to 15 days gave in court statements that they had converted to Islam. In govt, services and in army Hindus were particularly singled out and could not be recruited even as jawans in the army. They could not be given higher position like. deputy commissioners or judge of High Court.

In short frequent abduction of Hindu girls and their forcible conversion to Islam, specially in Sindh, has created a sense of fear in the minds of the local Hindus who are feeling in secure in Pakistan.

~~Abuse of women in custody is an violation of Human Right of a woman.~~

HRCP on January 20th 1994, while demanding the demilitarisation of Sindh, expressed strong reservation about the ongoing military operations

in Sindh. It stressed that depicting military operation in Sindh was no solution to the law and order situation in the province.

Referring the victimisation of Ahmadiya community

The report pointed out that Ahmadis in particular suffer from harassment and discrimination and have limited chance for advancement in the public sector sectors. The Govt, continued to close down Ahmadi's places of worship and mobs attacked on their congregations. Forced conversion of female members of the Ahmadis sect are also reported. In July 1994 even the Supreme Court of Pakistan closed the door to any legal redress for the intolerance and persecution that the Ahmadiyya Muslim have been encountering in Pakistan for the last two decades. In 1984 the then Martial Law Administrator General Zia-ul-Haq, promulgated ordinance curtailing the religious freedom of Ahmadis and changing some of their religious practices into punishable crimes. Since then the Govt, has allowed, under the cover of law, blatant abuse of human rights violations, constricting protection of their religious freedom, freedom of speech and equality of the citizen. Riaz Damar, head of the Ahmadiyya community of Haroonabad and Bahawalnagar was attacked.

Anti-Ahmedia wave also swept Lahore's University of Engineering and Technology and Allama Iqbal College to wards end of the year 1993. Two groups of students had beaten up two boys and a girl of the Ahmedia sect and demanded for expulsion of Ahmedi students and dismissal of Ahmedi teachers.

In Faisalabad schools were asked not to admit Ahmedi students to Islamic Studies and Holy Quran classes.

The 'Muslim' newspaper on Feb 7, 1994 also confirmed that the Human Right violations of the Ahmedis in Pakistan was at largest. The paper further pointed out that the local police headed by local ~~the~~ Maulvi Ghulam Mustafa raided the houses of Ahmedis Abdul Majeed Nasir and Lalif Ahmad in Mohallah Deoband Darul, forcibly ~~beat~~ broke open the doors, manhandled the women and severely beaten the children.

Chorlton . Archbishop of Karachi Simeon Pereira said 'on Jan. 8, 1994 "During the last 15 years we have witnessed a gradual whittling away the rights of Christian community." while speaking at a seminar on Legal Study of the Constitution vis-a-vis minorities Representation that said that 'because

we are non-muslim, we are treated as second class citizens" expressing anxiety of the Christians and church, he said "The Christians were the most frequent victims of the blasphemy laws." Therepath the H R C P in its interim report-1993 said, "That the pattern showed that the laws had become the handiest instrument for minor mullahs to launch themselves into spiced public leadership and into the consciousness of public conscience. They seized every opportunity to make public issue of it and then follow it up to the desired end through building street pressure and mobilising intimidated presence in the courts."

The Christian school teacher arahmat Ahmad, was brutally murdered on the street in front of school by a radical muslim. After murder he reportedly danced over the body and was greeted by kiss by the police. Muslim religious leader hailed him as a hero. Local lawyers offered him free legal advice and villagers streamed to his cell with flowers and cookies. Christian churches also faced destruction by mobs. The clergymen were also brutally beaten. In July 1994 even date supreme court closed the door to any legal redress for the intolerance and persecution that

The mob destroyed the church and severely damaged the school building.

HRCP

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HRCP in its Interim Report of 1993 mentioned that an understanding between Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam and Suljip alliance had been reached to declare ZIKRIS tribe in Balochistan as non-Muslin. One of their rallies in Feb 1993 led to attack on several Ziki houses. A few days later five rockets were hurled at Koh-i-Murad, the place of Zikris' zikrat. Ziki leader Rahim Bux complained in Karachi that forced conversions were taking place in Makran. The Zikris were being threatened.

He also saw a bloodbath if Zikris were not protected from Sunni fundamentalists.

Prisoners — U.S. State Dept. Report ^{of 1993} on Human Rights situation in Pakistan pointed out that the arbitrary detentions, arrests, torture and other abuses of prisoners and detainees continued to be serious problem and there were no significant efforts to reform the police organisation or to punish those who were responsible such abuses. It stressed that torture physical and emotional is the worst crime against humanity. HRCP in its report of Dec 13, 1993 pointed out that this crime has witnessed a sharp rise in Pakistan. The report further mentioned that the detained people were hung upside down for a number of days in order to seek the confession of the commission of the crime.

Amnesty International also reported in Dec. 1993 that there were torture, death in custody and extra judicial execution. The report mentioned

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a number of torture cells were unearthed in Lahore. Such illegal activity cannot go on without the patronage and collaboration of ruling gentry. The report further added that men and women were humiliated during arrest by being strip naked. Special instruments appeared to have been developed for this purpose viz 'CHITTAR'. An other torture method recently added is called 'CHERA'. It consists of the blindfolded victim having his legs pulled a part as far as possible. Some time arms are also pulled up as far as possible. According to Govt. figures 600 prisoners died in jails till Dec. 1993 during the last 54 years.

But all reported as from natural causes.

Torture was used primarily to extract money either from prisoners or from his family. Frequently a prisoner was released & the cases were dropped as unsustained after the family had paid the amount demanded.

Encounter killing: So far as encounter killing, Amnesty International in its report of Dec. 1993 said that most of encounters were engineered by the police itself.

The report of Jubilee Campaign organisation pointed out that even political parties torture their political opponents or dissidents within their own parties. Human Rights Watch pointed out that ~~torture~~ Torture and deaths in custody occurred throughout the country, particularly in Sindh province.

Pak Model → even Pak media was not spared. The council for Islamic Ideology instructed that only those persons should be invited to T.V. who had Islamic minds and believe in ideology of Pakistan. All focus should be on Islamic values. All reports of sexual assaults should be black out from the media. Local films should be banned on T.V. A board of Ulama should censor every programme.

The 'Muslim' a daily from Pakistan reported on Dec. 15, 1993 that Pakistan was heading for a Police State.

As reported by the "Frontier Post" on January 28, 1994, the following is the tally of the inhuman rights in Pakistan till 1993: —

1. 176 persons were awarded death sentence;
2. 52 persons died in the custody of police or other law enforcing agencies.
3. 183 persons died in so called police encounters.
4. A woman was raped every three hours, every other one raped was a minor, every fourth one

was gang raped.

✓ 5. A Christian nazir Masih was brutally tortured to death by Faisalabad police.

✓ 6. Qureshi Munawar was awarded three years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 15,000 for writing Kalima-e-tayyeba on a calendar.

7. Kalash people were forcibly converted in Hindukush valley.

✓ 8. Eight persons were brutally gunned down in a Lahore mosque.

✓ 9. five persons were killed in a Bahawalpur shia mosque.

10. 75 to 80% of women in jails were charged under Hudood laws.

✓ 11. 50% women died in 400 cases of domestic violence in Punjab.

✓ 12. 400 children were kidnapped every month in Punjab.

✓ 13. 6 millions under 14 years were victims of child labour.

14. 230,000 newborns did not live to see their first birthday.

15. 400,000 under 5s died, mostly from preventable diseases.

✓ 16. People who lost employment numbered more than those who gained it, including the educated and semi skilled young men.

Pak Sustained programme of subversion and terrorism
by pakistan in Indian states

Terrorism is not only a grave violation of all social values, civilized norms and decency, Human Rights but a crime against the humanity. But Terrorism motivated by ideological commitment to a Muslim Crusade is a grave and heinous crime.

It is no over one and a half decade that Indian state of J&K has been in the grip of the most vicious form of Terrorism. The pak ~~trained~~^{and financed}, mercenaries and Kashmiri mired youth ~~trained and finance by~~ pakistan and functioning under different umbrella organisation (such as HUJ, IUM, JEL, JUM, such as Harkat-ul-Jehad-e-Islami (HJI), Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen (IUM), Jamiat-e-Islami (JEL), Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen (JUM), Student Liberation Front (SLF), Al-Umar-Mujahideen (AUM), Hizb-ul-Mujahideen (HUM), Markaz-Dawa-ul-Ajihad (MDA), Harkat-ul-Ansar (HUA), Ansar-ul-Mujahideen (AUM) etc. etc. are propagating the philosophy that the democratic, secular, tolerant, way of life and all its related institutions must be destroyed wherever they exist. There has been the influx of battle hardened foreign mercenaries sent by Pakistan to escalate the level of terror and to commit violation of Human Rights in the Valley and to extend the sphere of such terror beyond the Valley. The tally of those kidnapped, raped, tortured and killed continues to rise. Thousand more of ~~the~~ them are reported to be waiting across the border in POK, to infiltrate into India.

*as well as
Bhutan as well as
Asia Nepal*

Hijacking of Human Rights

In spite of the fact that Islamic Republic of Pakistan, like other members of international community, not only made a commitment to promote and protect human rights by providing capital punishment to those who would found guilty for hijacking. But in actual practice pak leaders and govt, behaved in different ways. out of the ten cases of hijacking, in seven cases pakistani agents were involved. Four cases of hijacking took place during General Zia-ul-Haq's regime. In one of such case an Indian plane was hijacked by the volunteers of DALKHLSA with a toy pistol. the plane landed at Lahore airport. General Zia appointed General Mehbub-ur-Rehman to deal with hijackers. General Zia himself went into the plane to negotiate with hijackers. when he came to know that they carry no arm but hijacked with a toy pistol, he gave them his own pistol and allowed the plane to fly to Dubai.

In other case of hijacking General Zia allowed the Sikh militant to settle at Nankana Sahib where they continued the subversive terrorist activities against India.

In an case, which took place during BJP regime, Pak authorities allowed the Indian hijacked plane at Lahore. in that case pak agents were involved. the plane was refueled and allowed it to fly Tharau. The main reason was that if they were arrested in Pakistan, they would be granted capital punishment. the pak intelligence agencies were in close contact with the hijackers during this operation.

Human Rights Violation in P.O.K.

Suppression in P.O.K.

Pakistan time and again raised the demand that Kashmiris be given the right of self determination.

But when this demand was raised in P.O.K., the violence perpetrated against them by Pak agents, they are then treated as slaves. That is why a very large number of people from Azad Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan have fled to Europe to carry on their campaign for the liberation from Pakistan.

^{they formed organisation viz} (G.I.C.A), the United Kashmir People's National Party etc. The 1974 Constitution of P.O.K. banned any activity prejudicial or detrimental to the ideology of the state accession to Pakistan. Such people cannot contest election & participate in elections.

Many leaders and members of nationalised parties have been abducted, tortured, killed or forced into exile by Pak intelligence agencies.

In Gilgit-Baltistan there is no newspaper, radio or T.V. They all have access only to broadcasts by channels controlled by Pakistan and people of P.O.K. are compelled to read, see and hear what is contained in the print &

There is gross violations of norms of Geneva Convention dealing with Treatment of POW ~~abuser~~ in Pakistan. Pakistan's inhuman treatment of POW (i.e. Indian soldiers) has shocked the whole world. For example ~~the body of recent but~~ the body of an Indian pilot, whose aircraft crashed in Pak-occupied Kashmir during Kasur was mutilated in most inhuman manner fashion indicating that he had been tortured before being killed.

Moreover, manner in which Pakistan handled the dead bodies of Indian soldiers is also a matter of shame.

The shameful manner of treatment by ^{even} ~~been~~ Pakistan Army to war dead was also reported in ^{suitable conditions} ~~in~~ pale media. A book on the execution of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto on published from London 1979 at p. 59 mentioned about Indian POW in Pakistan. The author said that Bhutto's cell separated from a barracks where the Indian POW were kept. It was surrounded by 10 feet high wall. It could not prevent ~~that the lawyer~~ ^{from} ~~from~~ ^{confirms that several of them} ~~from~~ ~~heads~~ from hearing horrific shrieks and screams at night. A report by jail staff have been ~~rendered~~ ^{confirms that several of them} ~~deafened~~ and muted.

① Balochistan Baloch leaders are nursing grievances against Islamabad for step motherly treatment. There has been growing discontentment and Baloch National Movement demanded ~~freedom from Islam~~ equal share in development as well as political power. When denied, they started a movement for separate statehood. Pak punjabi ruling junta and a feudal military combine marched its war machine and men into Baloch territory to crush opposition by using brutal force. Pak Army is pounding the Baloch freedom fighters with helicopters, gun ships, artillery and heavy machine guns. General Musharraf has threatened them to 'hit hard'!

The gross violation of human rights are being committed there. As a result Balochistan is on the boilup point. The region, half of the size of entire Pakistan, is on the verge of separation.

Since Dec. 18, 2005 fighting is on in Balochistan. Being faced by alone

Suppression in Pak.

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Despite its beautiful water resources, mineral wealth and manpower, Pak occupied Kashmir is cursed with economic backwardness and the unemployment. Moreover, Pakistan time and again raised the demand at the local, national and international levels that Kashmiris be given the right of self determination. But when this demand was raised in Pak, the violence perpetrated against them by Pak agents. They are treated as slaves. Most of the freedom loving people from Azad Kashmir, Gilgit-Baltistan have fled to Europe to carry on their campaign for liberation. They have formed (GKA), (UKPAP) etc for carry on their activities. 1974 Pak constitution banned all activities prejudicial or detrimental the ideology of the state accession to Pakistan. Such people cannot contest election or participate in elections. Many leaders and members of nationalistic parties have been abducted, tortured, killed or forced into exile by Pak intelligence agencies. In Gilgit & Baltistan there is no ~~is no~~ newspaper, radio or T.V. they would have access only to broad casts controlled Pakistan.

The notorious intelligence agencies of Pakistan recruit innocent Kashmiri youth for activities of sabotage & subversive across the LoC where they are being killed either by Indian Army or by terrorists groups - trained, armed and financed by Pakistan.

All this has resulted the gross violation of the Human Rights and unfold misery and mental torture for hundred and thousand of Kashmiri families.

(4)

(20)

40 more killings

The tribal and feudal mind set, approving the horrific killings prevades as political profession in Pakistan.

A father kills his daughter because he considers it as an act of surrender if he allows her to marry a man of her own choice. Even in politics tolerance of inconvenient reality or dissent is treated an object of surrender ~~political opponents~~ or defection. That was why Park Alamy, with the help of PPP ~~resol~~ resorted to honour killing; undid the election results of 1970, lost half of Pakistan and finally surrendered to the Multan Bahini first and then to Indian Army in 1971. Honor killing policy continued even to day.

A study of post 1971 Park policies shows the system of its governance is based on the principle of "might is right", which excluded consultations and consensus. That is it is there in Pakistan whether there is democracy or dictatorship. Terrorism is, ~~is~~ which means gross violation of all social values, civilized norms, decency, human rights and crime against humanity, is being perpetrated against opponents. Terrorism, being motivated by ideological commitment to a Muslim cause, is, therefore, a grave and heinous crime.

HUMAN RIGHT SITUATION IN PAKISTAN.

Human rights are violated all over the world in one form or the other. In Pakistan, the situation is worse because the law of the land and its enforcers protect and abet these violations. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan's interim report on the State of Human Rights in 1993 draws attention to this dangerous paradox. There is no indication yet of the Pakistan's readiness to announce acceptance of International norms on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of her citizens irrespective of their religion, caste, sex, political affiliations, sects etc. U.S. State Deptt. Report on Human Rights situation in Pakistan 1993 confirmed that there was no significant change in the Human Rights situation in Pakistan with serious problems remaining in several areas. Religious zealots continued to discriminate against and persecute non-Muslims basing their activities on discriminatory legislations. The Govt. did little to curb these activities.

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The report pointed out the pitiable condition of the fair sex. Efforts are being made to raise entire generations to distrust and dislike any woman alleviated from norms of good, house bound, veiled, effacing, self sacrifice and to treat them as second class citizens. Despite clear injunctions in the Koran and civil law, women generally do not receive their due share in family inheritances. In rural Pakistan the practice of a woman marrying 'The Koran' is still widely accepted, if her family cannot arrange a suitable marriage, to keep the family wealth intact. Moreover, rape and abductions of women are viewed by society and court as property dispute.

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instances in which women were humiliated during arrest by being forced to strip naked in front of family members of opposite gender.

The family laws as well as traditional social and legal constraints remained discriminatory against women and kept them in a subordinate position in society. Some 100,000 or one out of 30 women was divorced. Even the Council for Islamic ideology postponed ruling on whether, according to Islam, a woman could be a ruler, a judge and whether her evidence was admissible in Islamic punishment.

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that 2,500 women were raped in 1993. Disgruntled husbands and fathers can bring charges of adultery against their wives and daughters.

The problem of using children as bonded labour also remained wide spread in spite of legislations to restrict this practice. The U.S. State Dept in its report of 1993 pointed out that about ten million children upto age of 15 years were then engaged in different trades in the Frontier provinces in violation of Human Rights laws. The worst victims of this heinous crime were the brick kiln workers around Peshawar.

Pakistani women were not only victims. Hundreds of Bangladeshi women were severely beaten, a 14 years old girl, Shafina, was stoned after accusing her on charges of theft.

House of women in custody is an notorious crime. On Feb 27, 1994, police from Tando Jam Police Station, Hyderabad, severely beaten a 14 years old girl, Shafina after accusing her on charges of theft.

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ju bilo campaign organisation highlighted the violation of minority rights in pakistan. even 'Down' on Nov. 6, 1993 pointed out that though under Art 7 of U.N. No Human Rights, charter as well Art 36 of the pak constitution the govt. bound to protect the life & property of the minorities yet it has miserably failed to protect these rights and taken no notice of the gross violation of the rights of minorities. it also reported 'the violation of minority rights of Hindus, Christians, Ahmadis, Sindhis, Balochies, Sikhs, and Shi'a communities in pakistan. Asia Watch recently observed 'that civil & criminal criminal laws have dangerously undermined fundamental rights, freedom of religion and expression, and have led to serious abuses against the country's religious minorities'. The incorporation of eight Amendment in constitution in 1985, which introduced a system of separate electorates for religious minorities has serve discrimination against them and have deprived them of the full citizenship right to vote and political campaigning. in other words this voting segregation has the effect of diluting the already diminished influence of the minority community in politics.

The Human Right commission of Pakistan in its Interim Report of 1993 reported the violation against and denial of Human Rights to the Hindus. The Pakistani Hindus complaints about kidnapping, forced conversion of their young women, confiscation of the Hindu Shrine, and burning of Hindus' texts, and torture of detained Hindus. The Committee for justice and peace in a press conference on Feb 28, 1994 highlighted the increasing incidents of kidnapping of Hindu girls who after captivity of 10 to 15 days, ^{were compelled to} give in court statements that they had converted to Islam. In govt, service and in army Hindus were particularly targeted and could not be recruited even as jawan in the army. They could not be given higher position like, deputy commissioners or judge of High Court.

In short frequent abduction of Hindu girls and their forcible conversion to Islam, specially in Sindh, has created a sense of fear in the minds of the local Hindus who are living in secret in Pakistan.

~~Abuse of women in custody is an violation of Human Right of a women~~

HRC P on January 20th 1994, while demanding the demilitarisation of Sindh, expressed strong reservations about the ongoing military operations

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in Sindh. It stressed that deploing military operations in Sindh was no solution to the law and order situation in the province.

Referring the victimisation of Ahmadiya community, the report pointed out that Ahmadi's in particular suffer from harassment and discrimination and have limited chance for advancement in the public sector. The Govt. continued to close down Ahmadi's places of worship and mobs attacked on their congregations. Forced conversion of female members of the Ahmadi's sect are also reported. In July 1994 even the Supreme Court of Pakistan closed the door to any legal redress for the intolerance and persecution that the Ahmadiyya Muslim have been encountering in Pakistan for the last two decades.

In 1984 the then Martial Law Administrator General Zia-ul-Haq promulgated ordinance curtailing the religious freedom of Ahmadi's and changing some of their religious practices into punishable crimes. Since then the "Pak Govt" has allowed, under the cover of law, blatant abuse of human rights violations, constitutional protection of their religious freedom, freedom of speech and equality of the citizen. Riaz Damas, head of the Ahmadiyya community of Haroonabad and Bahawalnagar was attacked.

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Anti-Ahmedia wave also swept Lahore's University of Engineering and Technology and Allama Iqbal College to wards end of the year 1993. Two groups of students had beaten up two boys and a girl of the Ahmedia sect and demanded for expulsion of Ahmadi students and dismissal of Ahmadi teachers.

In Faizabad schools were asked not to admit Ahmadi students to Islamic Studies and Holy Quran classes.

The 'Muslim' newspaper on Feb 7, 1994 also confirmed that the Human Right violations of the Ahmadis in Pakistan was at largest. The paper further pointed out that the local police headed by local ~~the~~ Maulvi Ghulam Mustafa raided the houses of Ahmadis Abdul Noor Nasir and Laalif Ahmad in Mohallah Deorhi Darel, forcibly ~~break~~ broke open the doors, manhandled the women and severely beaten the children.

Archbishop of Karachi Simeon Pereira said 'DN Jan. 8, 1994' "During the last 15 years we have witnessed a gradual whittling away the rights of Christian community." while speaking at a seminar on Legal Study of the Constitution vis-a-vis minorities Representation that said that "Because

We are non-Muslim, we are treated as second class citizens" expressing anxiety of the Christians and church, he said "The Christians were the most frequent victims of the blasphemy laws." The ⁸path the H R C P in its interim report-1993 said, "That the pattern showed that the laws had become the handiest instrument for minor mullahs to launch themselves into spirited public leadership and into the questioning of public conscience. They seized every opportunity to make public issue of it and then follow it up to the desired end through building street pressure and mobilising intimidated presence in the Courts."

The Christian school teacher Arhamat Ahmad, was brutally murdered on the street in front of school by a radical Muslim. After murder he reportedly danced over the body and was greeted by jeers by the police. Muslim religious leader hailed him as a hero. Local lawyers offered him free legal advice and villagers streamed to his cell with flowers and cookies. Christian churches also faced destruction by mobs. The clergymen were also brutally beaten.

In July 1994 even the Supreme Court closed the doors to any legal redress for the intolerance and persecution that

The mob destroyed the church and severely damaged the school building.

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HRCP in its Interim Report of 1993 mentioned that an understanding between Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Islam and Suljip alliances had been reached to declare ZIKRIS tribe in Balochistan as non-Muslin. One of their rallies in Feb 1993 led to attack on several Ziki houses. A few days later five rockets were hurled at Koh-i-Maraq, the place of Zikris' Zikrat. Ziki leader Rahim Bux complained in Karachi that forced conversions were taking place in Makran. The Zikris were being threatened. He fore saw a bloodbath if Zikris were not protected from Sunni fundamentalists.

U.S. State Dept. Report ^{of 1993} on Human Rights situation in Pakistan pointed out that the arbitrary detentions, arrests, torture and other abuses of prisoners and detainees continued to be serious problem and there were no significant efforts to reform the police organisation or to punish those who were responsible such abuses. It stressed that Torture physical and emotional is the worst crime against humanity. HRCP in its report of Dec 13, 1993 pointed out that this crime has witnessed a sharp rise in Pakistan. The report further mentioned that the detained people were hanged upside down for a number of days in order to seek the confession of the commission of the crime.

Amnesty International also reported in Dec. 1993 that men were tortured, death in custody and extra judicial execution. The report mentioned

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a number of torture cells were unearthed in Lahore. Such illegal activity cannot goes on without the patronage and collaboration of 10
Rajput gentry. The report further added that men and women were humiliated during arrest by being strip naked. Special instruments appeared to have been developed for this purpose viz 'CHITTAR'. An other torture method recently added is called 'CHEERA'. It consists of the blindfolded victim having his legs pulled a part as far as possible. Some times arms are also pulled up as far as possible. According to Govt. figures 600 prisoners died in police Jails ~~till Dec. 1992~~ during the last 54 years. But all reported as from natural causes.

Torture was used primarily to extract money either from prisoners or from his family. Frequently a prisoner was released & the cases were dropped as unsustained after the family had paid the amount demanded.

So far as encounter killing, Amnesty International in its report of Dec. 1993 said that most of encounters were engineered by the police itself.

The Report of Jubilee Campaign organisation pointed out that even political parties torture their political opponents or dissidents within their own parties. ^{Asia} Human Rights Watch pointed out that ~~torture~~ Torture and deaths in custody occurred throughout the country, particularly in Sindh province.

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even Pak media was not spared. The council for Islamic Ideology instructed that only those persons should be invited to T.V. who had Islamic minds and believe in ideology of Pakistan. All focus should be on Islamic values. All reports of sexual assaults should be black out from the media. Local films should be banned on T.V. A board of Ulama should censor every programme.

The 'Muslim' a daily from Pakistan reported on Dec. 15, 1993 that Pakistan was heading for a police state.

As reported by the "Frontier Post" on January 28, 1994, the following is the tally of "The inhuman Rights in Pakistan till 1993: —

1. 176 persons were awarded death sentence;
2. 52 persons died in the custody of police or other law enforcing agencies.
3. 183 persons died in so called police encounters.
4. A women was raped every three hours, every other one raped was a minor, every fourth one

and semi skilled.

The News' newspaper reported on January 10, 1994 that 2500 women were raped in 1993, 80 persons were killed in police custody; 5000 political prisoners in jails, majority of whom belong to Sindh. Christian science Monitor an other paper mentioned on January 5, 1994 that Religious intolerance in Pakistan has now received judicial approval. Human Rights watch for Asia pointed out in world report of 1994 that torture and deaths in custody occurred throughout the country, particularly in Sindh province. The Frontier post writes on Feb.10, 1994 that Human rights remain at low profile in Balochistan.

No doubts the violations of Human Rights is global phenomenon and third world nations present a depressing picture, Yet Human Rights situation in Pakistan is still worse. Pak government efforts to Islamicize its civil and criminal laws have dangerously undermined human rights of the people and led to serious abuses against the rights of children, women, and country's religious minorities.

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a number of torture cells were unearthed in Lahore. Such illegal activity cannot goes on without the patronage and collaboration of ruling gentry. The report further added that men and women were humiliated during arrest by being strip naked. Special instruments appeared to have been developed for this purpose viz 'CHITTAR'. An other torture method recently added is called 'CHEEKA'. It consists of the blindfolded victim having his legs pulled a part as far as possible. Some times arms are also pulled up as far as possible. According to Govt, figures 600 prisoners died in police jails ~~till Dec 1993~~ during the last 54 years.

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II. Historical Background

Some basic rights like personal freedom, protection of life etc were derived from the British principles of jurisprudence. These rights as well as some others like non-discrimination in jobs on the basis of religion, place of birth, etc had been given statutory power in the Government of India (GOI) Act of 1935 (3). But the safeguards could be abrogated by legislative authority in India or by the British Parliament and were not justiciable. Even after the transfer of power, the position regarding these rights had not significantly changed. B.N. Rau had stated in December 1947 in his report on human rights (4), "With a few exceptions, human rights in India today (December 31, 1947) are not guaranteed by the Constitution but embodied in the ordinary law of the land..."

Inclusion of a set of Fundamental Rights in the Constitution had its genesis in the forces that operated in the national struggle during British rule. As more people plunged into the freedom struggle after the First World War, clashes with British authorities in India became frequent and bitter and the harshness of the executive in operating its repressive machinery strengthened the demand for constitutional guarantee of Fundamental Rights. In order to ensure that these rights were properly enforced, there was a demand that these rights would be not open to repeal and would be justiciable – in other words, these could be challenged in a court of law in case there was any breach in their implementation.

After the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918, the Indian National Congress (INC) demanded that the new Government of India (GOI) Act should include a declaration of rights of people of India as British citizens which would include among other things, equality before law, protection in respect of liberty, life and property, freedom of speech etc. There was also a demand by eminent persons that education be also included as a Fundamental Right of Indians. The list of the Fundamental Rights in the Constitution of the Irish Free State (5) in 1921 also influenced the demand of Fundamental Rights for Indians. The Commonwealth of India Bill finalized by the National Convention in 1925 emphasized the following declaration of Rights, which were almost identical to those of the Irish Constitution:

- Liberty of Person and Security of his Property
- Freedom of Conscience
- Free expression of Opinion and Right of Assembly
- Free Elementary Education
- Use of Roads etc
- Equality of Law
- Equality of Sexes

The All-Party Conference of 1928 also adopted the provision of free elementary education to all citizens as one of the Fundamental Rights (6). It was stressed that care should have to be taken that the FR's were guaranteed in such a manner which would not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances.

The Congress session held in Karachi in March 1931 adopted the Resolution on FR's and Economic Programme and stressed that this would have a vital bearing in shaping independent India's Constitution. It also enlisted (7) various Fundamental Rights and Duties like right of free expression, freedom of conscience, equality before law irrespective of religion, caste, creed or sex etc. On education, the Karachi Resolution explicitly stated, "The State shall provide for free and compulsory education."

An anguished voice heard that very year (October 1931) was that of Gandhiji (8) for the establishment of inexpensive, traditional schools for both boys and girls in every village. Decrying the existence of expensive schools patterned after the European model, he stated, "I defy anybody to fulfil a programme of compulsory primary education of these masses inside of a century. This very poor country of mine is ill able to sustain such an expensive model of education. Our State would revive the old village schoolmaster and dot every village with a school both for boys and girls." Prophetic words, indeed!

Mention may also be made of the fact that the division of rights to be incorporated in our Constitution between justiciable and non-justiciable rights was made for the first time by the Sapru Committee Report of 1944-45. B.N. Rau also wanted such a distinction. In his words (9),

"There are certain rights which require positive action by the State and which can be guaranteed only so far as such action is practicable, while others merely require that the State shall abstain from prejudicial action. Typical of the former is the right to work which cannot be guaranteed further than by requiring that the State 'direct its policy towards securing that the citizens may through their occupations find the means of making reasonable provision for their domestic needs'; typical of the latter is the right which requires that, 'the State shall not deprive any citizen of his liberty without due process of law'. It is obvious that the Rights of the first type are not normally suitable for enforcement by legal action while those of the second type may be so enforced".

The Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, 1946 had laid down that an Advisory Committee should be constituted to determine the FR's of citizens, minorities etc. Accordingly, an Advisory Committee was set up in January 1947 to finalize these rights so that they could be placed for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly. This Advisory Committee set up a sub- committee on Fundamental Rights for which K.M. Munshi submitted a Note and Draft Articles on March 17 1947. Among the Draft articles, Munshi submitted the following Article VIII on Right to Education:

"Every citizen is entitled to have free primary education and it shall be legally incumbent of every unit of the Union to introduce free and compulsory primary education upto age 14 and in case of adults upto the standard of literacy.

The duration, limits and method of primary education shall be fixed by law."

Some members of the Committee initially opposed the idea of non-justiciable rights in the Constitution. They saw little use if these noble ideals or precepts were not enforceable. K.M. Munshi expressed his opposition to this idea in no uncertain words:

“General precepts which might be considered less than necessary by an advanced thinker on socialist lines would not be looked at, much less understood or applied in some parts of the country where feudal notions were deeply engrained ..”

On March 27, 1947, the Sub Committee discussed various proposals submitted by its members. There was discussion on the above clauses of the proposal submitted by Munshi and some members felt that the right to primary education could not be a justiciable, fundamental right. However the majority opinion was that it should be included among justiciable rights with the understanding that the State shall provide free education to all children within a time period of ten years.

Accordingly, clauses (1), (2) of the Article VIII, were finalized as follows (10):

“Every citizen is entitled as of right to free primary education and it shall be incumbent on every unit of the Union to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory primary education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.”

Ultimately, on April 16, 1947, the Sub-Committee on Fundamental Rights (11) appointed by the Advisory Committee submitted its final report wherein the right to education was given in Clause 23, which stated:

“Every citizen is entitled as of right to free primary education and it shall be the duty of the State to provide within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution for free and compulsory primary education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years.”

It is interesting to go through the proceedings of the meeting of the Advisory Committee held on April 21, 1947. Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel chaired the meeting with Govind Vallabh Pant, Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and M. Ruthnaswami as members who participated in the debate (12).

The Secretary read out the text of the Clause 23.

M. Ruthnaswami: Is this a justiciable right? Supposing the government have no money?

Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar: I want the deletion of this clause.

Govind Vallabh Pant: I suggest that this clause be transferred to Part 2. It cannot be justiciable. No court can possibly adjudicate.

The Chairman agreed and passed on to the next clause.

The proceedings were brief. Had the clause been made a Fundamental Right, the condition of education could have been significantly different.

Although Article 45 of the Constitution making elementary education compulsory is not justiciable, there have nevertheless been efforts by various State governments to enact State laws making education compulsory. Some of these States are Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Goa, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, U.P., West Bengal and Delhi (13). As we can see all the BIMARU (Bihar, M.P., Rajasthan, U.P.) States have enacted laws. In fact, Bihar Primary Education (Amendment) Act 1959 has its antecedents in the Bihar and Orissa Education Act of 1919 as amended in 1939. Similarly, the U.P. Act has its genesis in the United Provinces Primary Acts of 1919 and 1926. It may be mentioned that in some States, these laws are not enforced throughout but rather only in some parts of the State. Even this partial enforcement for various reasons has not been very strict.

It may also be mentioned that when our Constitution was adopted, education was a State subject. It was only in 1976 that the subject was transferred to the Concurrent List. In case the State laws differed from the central laws, the latter would prevail.

Financial Requirements for Education

If education is made a fundamental right the State would have to provide necessary funds and take other measures like building of schools, recruitment of teachers etc in a time-bound manner. As things stand, the provision of education for all, which was to have been achieved by 1960, is still as elusive as it was when the constitution was adopted. One does not see signs that it will be provided to all even in the next decade unless some major policy decisions are taken.

We must understand that the Government is not only legally and socially bound to universalise education, there are strong economic arguments for this as this helps in sustained economic growth of the country. In the words of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen,

“The crucial role of human capital makes it all the more essential to pay attention to the close relation between sensible public action and economic progress, since public policy has much to contribute to the expansion of education and the promotion of skill formation...”

Jean Dreze and Amaartya Sen in their book, India: *Economic Development and Social Opportunity* have outlined the benefits of education. In their words, “Education is desired for itself as it opens up a vast world of opportunities and ideas to the educated person. It is also of great instrumental value in the process of economic growth and development. It plays a crucial role in demographic transition ...”

Despite the recommendations of the Kothari Commission on Education (1964-66) and the National Policy on Education, 1986 that the government should spend 6% of the GDP, only about 3.8% is being spent at present. The public expenditure on education is given below in Table I. This includes expenditure both Plan and non-Plan by the Centre and the States.

Table I: Public Expenditure on Education as a percentage of GDP

Year	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1985-86	1995-96
Expenditure as % of GDP	1.58	2.26	3.0	4.1	3.8

Source: A Shariff and P.K. Ghosh (15)

We see that the percentage share of the GDP on education has begun to decline from the high of 4.1% in 1990-1991. This trend has not been reversed in the recent past. It is also instructive to observe the inter-sector allocation of total funds for education (15). This is presented in Table II.

Table II: Allocation of funds for different Sectors of Education

Sector	Year	1980-81	1985-86	1990-91	1995-96
Elementary Education (EE)	A	1483	3407	7842	15555
	B(%)	44.3	45.7	46.1	48.5
Secondary Education	A	1051	2314	5484	10,210
	B(%)	31.4	31.1	32.3	31.8
University, Higher Ed.	A	504	1061	2322	3917
	B(%)	15.1	14.2	13.7	12.2
Technical Education	A	137	328	738	1346
	B(%)	4.1	4.4	4.3	4.2
Miscellane-ous	A	170	337	613	1045
	B(%)	5.1	4.5	3.6	3.3
Total	A	3345	7447	16999	32073
	B(%)	100	100	100	100

Note: A—Expenditure in Rs crore
B—Percentage of total expenditure

Source: A. Shariff and P.K. Ghosh (15)

We can see that the percentage of expenditure on elementary education over the last twenty years was approximately 45% which has gone up in 1995-96 to 48.5%. In order to universalise elementary education, the share of expenditure on elementary

education should be at least 55% or 60% as was done by countries like Japan and even our neighbour Sri Lanka to improve the literacy levels.

As a share of GDP, the public expenditure on education has declined after 1991-1992. But since the wage bill on teachers, which comprises about 95% of the total expenditure, has gone up, the government has taken the recourse to stop or slow down the recruitment of teachers. As a result there are less number of teachers per child today than in early 1990's. The figures for the pupil-teacher ratio are available for 1997-98 (16). For the middle schools, this ratio is about 37. The highest ratio is surprisingly for Karnataka with 52 followed by Bihar with 49. For the other two educationally backward States U.P. and Rajasthan, the ratios are 29 and 33. Obviously, the lower the teacher-pupil ratio, the better it is since it implies less number of children per teacher.

For the primary schools, the pupil-teacher ratio is about 42, with the highest ratio being for Bihar with 62 followed by West Bengal with 49. The North-eastern States of Manipur, Nagaland and Sikkim have better ratios - 19, 21 and 17 respectively. They also do well at the middle school stage. This shows that there is greater stress on elementary education by these States than others like Bihar, West Bengal etc. Various experts have recommended that the pupil-teacher ratio should be reduced to 30 for effective implementation of elementary education.

The pupil-teacher ratios in primary schools for the year 1994 for some countries is shown in Table III. We can see that the ratio is high for Bangladesh, India and Pakistan whereas for our other neighbours, Nepal and Sri Lanka, this ratio is low.

Table III: Pupil-Teacher (P-T) Ratio in Primary Schools, 1994

Country	Bangla desh	Brazil	China	India	Nepal	Paki stan	Sri Lanka
P-T ratio	62	22	22	63.5	39	50	28

Source: M. Swaminathan and V. Rawal (17)

The go-slow in teacher recruitment is contradictory to the commitment of making elementary education compulsory. However if it did become a Fundamental Right the government would not be able to offer lack of sufficient funds as a reason for its poor performance on this front.

Estimates for additional funds required for making elementary education compulsory are staggering -- from about Rs 10,000 crore to Rs 20,000 crore per annum. It is to be emphasized that these are additional requirements to the present expenditure being incurred.

Considering that in 1995-1996, plan and non-plan expenditure on elementary education was about Rs. 15,550 crore, the additional requirements are double the existing expenditure. The obvious question is, can such large sums of money be found -- is there sufficient political will to be able to allocate such large amounts of funds? But these

funds can be found as discussed later if there are legal and constitutional constraints and by proper policy measures.

IV. Constitutional and Legal Commitments

What is the likely scenario if elementary education is indeed made a Fundamental Right?

While legislation alone cannot bring children to school, it is also a fact that an unambiguous legal or constitutional commitment is necessary although not sufficient, to provide free and compulsory education to children.

As discussed earlier, education was originally recommended as one of the Fundamental Rights, but the Advisory Committee of the Constituent Assembly shifted it to the section of Directive Principles where it now remains in the Constitution. But there have been strong pressures on the Government of India, both because of the importance of the subject as well as due to the Supreme Court ruling in the Unni-Krishnan, J.P. vs State of Andhra Pradesh and others (18), in 1993, to give education the status of a fundamental right.

The Supreme Court had in the above case ruled that:

“The citizens of this country have a fundamental right to education. The said right flows from Article 21. This right is however not an absolute right. Its content and parameters have to be determined in the light of Articles 45 and 41. In other words every child/citizen of this country has a right to free education until he completes the age of 14 years. Thereafter his right to education is subject to the limits of economic policy and development of the State.”

In the aftermath of the above SC judgement, a few writ petitions have also been filed. One writ petition that has been the subject of some debate was the one by S.P.Anand filed on 23 March 1998 questioning the implementation of the right to education by various States. Disposing off the writ petition, the SC gave the following order:

“We find that by and large, the States and UT’s have gone ahead towards the implementation of Court’s order in the Unnikrishnan’s case upholding the Fundamental Right of any child below 14 years to be obtaining education at State expense. What has been achieved is commendable. What remains to be done is individual resting with each State or UT....”

Questions have been raised by some people as to why the proposed Amendment Bill is necessary in view of the judgement of the Supreme Court. A very good justification is provided by Hon. Rajinder Sachar, former High Court Judge. In his words:

“A judgement of a Court like all judgements can be renewed by a larger bench in some other case. Given this situation, if the right to education is not to remain vulnerable to review, it may be better to include it in the Constitution from where

it cannot be removed without the consent of a two thirds majority of the House and much public debate.”

In addition, it is also necessary, since education is on the Concurrent List, to have one law valid for the entire country rather than have separate laws for all the States and UT's.

Moreover, a Committee of Education Ministers met in September, October and November 1996 and submitted a Report on their deliberations in 1997. This report which is also called the Saikia Committee Report, has inter-alia made the following recommendation (19):

“The Constitution of India should be amended to make the right to free elementary education upto 14 years of age a Fundamental Right. Simultaneously, an explicit provision should be made to make it a Fundamental Duty of every citizen who is a parent to provide opportunities for elementary education to all children upto 14 years of age...”

In light of these developments as well as to equip free and compulsory education with the force of law, the GOI introduced the 83rd Constitution Amendment Bill in the Rajya Sabha in 1997. It was subsequently referred to a Parliamentary Standing Committee which strongly endorsed the passing of the Amendment Bill but emphasized that concerted efforts be made to ensure quality of education and teacher training.

However, several questions came up – legal, constitutional and the very important aspect of provision of necessary funds when the Bill would be passed and education became a fundamental right. To consider the latter aspect in detail, a Group of Experts was set up in 1998 with Professor Tapas Majumdar as its chairman. The Group submitted its Report in January 1999 on the two aspects – how much money would be required for operationalising the Right to Free and Compulsory Education under the proposed Amendment and from where this money would be made available (20).

The Group is understood to have recommended that the money for universalizing elementary education (UEE) can be found by raising the allocation of funds for education from the present 3.8 % of the GDP to 6% and by increasing the allocation on elementary education from the present 48% of the total education budget to about 60% over a phased manner. With these efforts and a sound monitoring policy so that the funds are actually and genuinely utilized and not wasted as happens in many similar government projects, UEE is possible within the next decade or fifteen years. The Group has also dispelled the fear that greater allocation to elementary education will cut into the share of other sectors because the size of the total allocation for education would also be increased by additional taxation and by other measures like reducing the government wage bill etc.

Mention may also be made of an interesting and productive source of funds. These are the software exports which during the year 1999-2000 touched the figure of \$4 billion or about Rs.17,150 crores. This figure is targeted to touch \$ 50 billion by 2008

(Rs. 2,14,000 crore). If even a small part of this export revenue could be utilized, it will give a boost to funding of elementary education.

The proposed Amendment Bill was also referred to the Law Commission and other Ministries are also examining the issue. It has been suggested that the Article 45 of the Constitution could be done away with after the proposed Bill is passed because it would not be proper to have a Fundamental Right and a Directive Principle on the same subject in the Constitution.

There would also be the question as to what should be done to children below the age of 6 years. Perhaps there could be efforts by the State governments to provide free childhood care and education to such children. This has also been recommended by the Convention of Higher Education, referred to earlier (8).

It is understood that the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) has also recommended that along with the Amendment Bill, the existing article 45 be deleted and replaced with a modified Article 45 which would cover the responsibility of the State governments towards children below the age of 6 years. The Ministry would like to add a fundamental duty for the parents of children to ensure that they send their children (age 6-14) to school.

Based on the recommendations of the Law Commission, it is also felt necessary that after the Amendment Bill is passed, a central legislation about the basic responsibility of the States to provide free and compulsory education is introduced. This will also avoid unnecessary litigation. It is also hoped that this will send out a clear signal about the intentions of the government that it is determined to provide free and compulsory, good quality education to the children. The definition of what is meant by 'free and compulsory' would be also covered under this central law.

But one needs to add a word of warning: even after the Amendment Bill is passed and arrangements are made for provision of adequate funds, teachers and other infrastructure, care would have to be taken that the system is made to work in all the distant nooks and corners of the country. For this, community involvement would be absolutely essential without which the efficacy of all these measures would be in doubt.

One should also add a word about the quality and contents of primary education. It should not be a rootless, joyless formal learning of language and arithmetic, but be relevant to the needs of the individual and human society. It should inculcate basic values like respect for family life, for the environment and our culture and heritage. As a recent UNESCO report on education for the 21st century has put it: "education should be rooted to culture and committed to progress". Or as Gandhiji stated "education should stress continuity in social, cultural and economic environment of life".

Now that various experts and the Parliamentary Standing Committee and the Law Commission have examined the issue, the government should quickly get the proposed Amendment Bill passed. The sooner the government does so and the sooner the Parliament passes the Bill, the better it will be for the crores of children who have been

deprived of their fundamental right to education and quality of life. This would be a happy denouement of the proceedings on April 21, 1947, when the Advisory Committee transferred education to the section on Directive Principles because it was felt that the government did not have sufficient money and that this subject could not be adjudicated.

It would also meet, after almost three quarters of a century of struggle, the demands put up by some of our most eminent historical figures like Gandhiji, Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad, K.M. Munshi and others to have free and compulsory education for all our children.

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The
"GENESIS OF INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION"

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Kashmir, once a beautiful valley, projected by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru as the beacon light of secularism, is in flames. The Valley has been in the news all the time beginning from July 31, 1988 when militancy first raised its ugly head in Kashmir. All these years many solutions and plans have been offered by many people to diffuse the tension created by the gun wielders trained and equipped by Pakistan, but many of these organisations and individuals are not fully aware of the events which led to the accession of the State of J&K to the Indian Union, forty-eight years back, legally and constitutionally. The present generation in Kashmir and most of the misguided youth are also not aware of the facts regarding the accession of the State to India having been mostly fed on disinformation and half truth. It therefore becomes impertive to examine the historical and legal perspective of the Accession.

The partition of India created more problems than it solved. It not only ripped apart the body of Mother India but also created many pestering wounds of discord between the two Dominion State's, Kashmir being one of them. Prior to the transfer of power, the Indian sub-continent was composed of two groups of political entities- one was British India consisting of provinces directly ruled by the Govt. of India and the other Princely states which were five hundred and odd. "The Indian States (of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir was one) were those areas in the Indian Sub-Continent which were made for internal purpose outside the administration legislative and judicial sphere of the (British) Govt. of India. Each had a hereditary rulers who subject to the paramountcy of British Crown exercised with so exceptions, unlimited powers over his subjects."

The paramountcy lapsed when the British announced the transfer of power and partition of India on August 14, 15, 1947. The states were empowered to accede to one of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan under relevant provisions relating to the States in the Independence Act by executing an Instrument of Accession. The British vested the power of accession solely in the princely rulers overriding the protests of the Indian National Congress. There was however no mention of the States having any right to remain independent.

Attorney General of Britain, Sir Shaw Cross while explaining the position of States during the debates on Indian Independence Act in the House of Commons on 14th July 1947 said that Government of great Britain did not recognise the states as separate International entities on August 15 they hoped the States would associate themselves with one or the "Other of the Dominions on terms fairly and amicably negotiated".

Moutbatten had also expressed similar sentiments, when he addressed the Chamber of Princes on 25th July, 1947. He asserted "The States are theoretically free to link their future with which ever Dominion they may like". The State of J&K was the largest of the Princely States of India. The demographic composition of Kashmir has been its bane, its having a Muslim majority and geographical contiguity to both India and Pakistan it became a bone of contention between the two. The attitude of Maharaja Hari Singh, the sovereign of the State of J&K, was mainly responsible for it. The Maharaja "Kept his options open" he did not elect to join either India or Pakistan at the time of transfer of power on August 1947 till it triggered a war between India and Pakistan.³

He concluded stand still agreement with Pakistan and offered to conclude one with India. "Kashmir's premieir pol party the National Conference opposed joining the new Muslim State of Pakistan". That also added to the indicisiv-⁴ences on the part of Maharaja. That Maharaja was toying with the idea of Independent Kashmir even in October 1947 is evident from the revelations made by the Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir, Shri B.L.Batra at a Press Conference at New Delhi on Oct. 12, 1947 "Despite constant rumours. We have no intention of Joining either India or Pakistan and the Maharaja and his Govt. have decided that no decision of any kind will be made untill there is peace on the plains. The only thing that will change this decision is if one side or the other decides to use forces against us.... The Maharaja told me that his ambition is to make Kashmir the Switzerland of the East, a State that is completely neutral".⁵

"Even after the conclusion of a stand still agreement with Pakistan the relations between Kashmir and Pakistan were hardly friendly Pakistan did not honour her obligations and started a policy of coercion so that the state would accede to Pakistan."⁶

Planning and preparations for armed invasion of Kashmir and been going on a long time in Pakistan and it was in the face of Pakistan's induction of armed invaders in October 1947, that Maharaja was forced to appeal to India for armed assistants "New Delhi had no intelligence of these preparation. When the raiders struck on 22 Oct. 1947 they had the advantage of total surprise".⁷

Aid from India could come only after Kashmir's accession to India. The Maharaja could not afford to lose any more time as the raiders were knocking at the doors of

Srinagar. In his letter of Oct. 26 he asked for accession and attached the Instrument of Accession for acceptance by the Government of India, Nehru however did not seem in any hurry to accept the accession and send help to Kashmir till Sheikh Abdullah intervened to assure him that he and the National Conference supported the accession Oct. 27, 1947 is a crucial day in the history of Independent India. It was the day when the first batch of Indian troops landed at the Srinagar airport and the same day Mountbatten wrote a letter to the Maharaja of Kashmir accepting the request for accession. He also indicated in this letter that his Govt. wished to settle the question of State's accession to India by a reference to the people "as soon as law and order have been restored to Kashmir and her soil cleared of the invader. This unnecessary addition was destined to haunt India long into the future. This statement, according to Justice Anand, does not and cannot effect the legality of the accession which was sealed by India's official acceptance. This statement is not a part of the instrument of Accession. It was a unilateral declaration of policy a declaration to which Maharaja was never asked to agree. For any contract to the binding law requires offer and acceptance. In this case it would seem that Lord Mountbatten made an offer but Maharaja did not signify his acceptance." 8

There was nothing in the instrument of Accession to compel the Govt. of India to ratify the accession by holding a plebiscite the offer creates only a moral obligation and not a legal one "This Instrument of Accession was in no way different from that executed by some 500 other states. It was unconditional, voluntary and inclusive.

It was not subject to any exceptions. As such, it bound the state of Jammu and Kashmir and India together legally and constitutionally.*

Legally the Maharaja was the de jure and de facto sovereign of the State of J&K and the only competent authority to sign the Instrument of Accession under the Act of 1935 as it was in force on 15th. August 1947. The merger of Texas with the USA has close resemblance with the accession of Kashmir to India. As such no other sovereign and independent State had any right to question the legality of the Instrument of Accession. Those who question accession question the very basis of partition of India. Accession once accepted was legally final and irrevocable the offer made by Nehru of the principle of Plebiscite was "Ultra vires of the Mountbatten plan about partition and the Instrument of Accession of States".¹⁰

"one is therefore amazed at the pertinacity of a petty official of the US States Department questioning the legality of the accession of ~~the~~ the state of J&K to India".¹¹

Jammu and Kashmir is thus included in the list of the States comprising the Indian Union under First Schedule of the constitution.

The decisions taken by the Jammu and Kashmir constituent Assembly put a seal of approval on the permanent relationship of the State with India According to Prof. Vidya Bhushan among the main issues discussed in the constituent Assembly were the "future of the ruling dynasty (and) the accession of the State to the Indian Union."¹²

In favour of accession to India, the Assembly referred among other things, the support that the freedom movement received from the Indian National Congress, democratic

values of Indian Constitution, such as rule of law, the secular approach to social and public life, the commitment to land reforms and other aspects of Socio-economic justice.¹³"

Once J&K acceded to the Union of India it cannot legally secede from it. Under Art-I of the Constitution India can acquire Territory but cannot shed any. In the US a Civil war was fought to retain this basic principle of unity and integrity of a country the same situation now prevails in India.

The demand for independence or secession is ruled out by other factors also besides the legal. The consequences could disrupt the country's unity. It could touch off similar demands in other parts of the country and reawaken the memories of partition. India cannot "surrender the Jammu region which is largely Hindu in its demographic composition. Nor can India easily walk out of Ladakh with its Buddhist character. In the contest of the current fluid situation in Central Asia, even China is reluctant to permit any disturbance of the present balance of stability in this strategic though thinly populated areas".¹⁴

Secession and Independence is also not agreeable to lakhs of Kashmir Pandits who have been driven out of the valley by the militants and have become refugees in their own country. What really keeps the people of Kashmir valley "away from India is mistrust and New Delhi has to build that trust. Remember that the docile Kashmir did rise against the might of Indian Army. Today if he is handled appropriately he will soon rise against militancy. And soon may be, just may be, against Pakistan."¹⁵

Kashmir is retrievable even today. It has to be made so for India's long term survival as a nation. It is a matter of

life and death for us". Only if there is a new begining can
there be hope and even then the road is likely to be long and
hard".
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Geographically, culturally, racially, linguistically and ethnically the state of Jammu & Kashmir is not a homogeneous unit of Indian Union. Being multi-lingual state it is composed of three principal socio-cultural, viable and dispersal units — Jammu, The Kashmir valley and Ladakh. These regions have distinct regional and political ~~personalities~~ personalities.

In fact, political and emotional divergence between regions has been growing over years. As ~~these~~ there exists communal dichotomy, regionalism, ~~and~~ awareness of one's own cultural heritage, historical traditions and a sense of political individuality, there have been contradictions and — controversies, turmoils and clashes of conflicting interests of different regions. The Dogra ruler, The Maharaja Gulab Singh, though brought the three regions under his control, yet there never had been cultural, ethnic and social integration of the people of the regions. It was merely a political union for administrative convenience rather than a fusion of different streams of cultures, ways of life and thought.

Out of three regions of the state Jammu region with 27,18,113 inhabitants and 26,000 Sq. K.m. area is now number two in population as well as in area. Kashmir valley, on the other hand, with 31,34,904 inhabitants and two fifth of its area ~~and~~ out numbers Jammu by just about four lakhs. But Ladakh with 1,34,372 population is four times in territory.

6. As for its recruitment, it is preceded by (its) "development" and "is subject to difficulties which vary with the type of interest to be organised."¹⁴ As for its types, Maciver and Page have mentioned several, e.g. "Personal", "strongman", 'natural', 'Charismatic'--"men of 'destiny', convinced of their own 'right' and ability to lead, and sharing this conviction with their followers-- the 'deliverers' or 'Saviors', the 'revealers' and usually the exponents par excellence of the mass emotions of group solidarity"¹⁵. Reverting to 'recruitment', the "personal techniques of authority and leadership" will play an important role, techniques seen in the light of "authority as it is invested in or focussed in a person", "authority" not in the light of "an impersonal principle or ideal or legal code"¹⁶. In the process of 'recruitment', advocacy of "class or racial conflict", "stress, emergency, or crisis" come handy. Devices "of 'capturing' the audience", such as, "reiteration", "use of 'trigger-terms' and stereotyped expressions", building "up of images and ideas that present reality in the colors of the dominant emotion and the immediate interest", are used.¹⁷

II: The Central Hypothesis :

Earlier^{17a}, it was stated that the tone and tenor of the system would be conditioned by the "pattern of leadership recruitment" to an appreciable extent. The converse may not be less true. If the "functions" performed by the actors, more-so by the ruling elite's recruitment, condition the system, the actors and processes cannot conceivably remain : immune to the influences of the systems and sub-systems. Based on this assumption is the hypothesis

(i) the deliberate adoption of the model of the of the West (liberal democratic) ;
(ii) the model of development ;
(iii) the resultant political and economic systems ;
(iv) the end product of politics ; and
(v) the political culture would entail action and reaction. The inter-action would lead to a particular pattern of politics, leaving a definite impact on the "pattern of leadership recruitment". Here, what follows in the ensuing sections is merely a demonstration of this approach.

III : The System :

"We are", remarks Dr. Rajni Kothari', "in more ways than one a functioning democracy, with certain freedoms still available to many of us (though by no means to the truly destitute and the marginalised strata), in which the democratic spirit has not yet been stifled. And in which new assertions and stirrings are taking place, a new conception of 'rights' is emerging, coupled with an emerging comprehension of the deeper bases of injustice and inequality as well as of fragmentation and erosion."

2. Looking back "at the system with which we started and which we tried to evolve in the first few decades of independence", Dr. Kothari laments that "something has seriously gone wrong somewhere even from the limited liberal perspective of parliamentary democracy" and "trickle-down philosophy of development."¹⁹ Dr. Kothari has surveyed ²⁰ three spheres where we have gone wrong:

(a) The Economic:

"the fruits of what we call 'development' are not reaching the people, certainly not the worst affected among them, nor even those who have not

so completely been marginalised or disenfranchised from their rights to citizenship. The top-down model of growth based on centralised monitoring of both accumulation and distributive justice has all but collapsed."

(b) The Political:

"....contact and communication with local communities and social structures have eclipsed, with the result that the care and concern that went into preserving and conserving the rich heritage of resources and institutions have declined rather rapidly, giving rise to a terrific rate of rampage and destruction of grassroots of society."

(c) The Socio-Cultural:

".....the vacuum created by decline among these two dimensions is being, equally rapidly, filled by chauvinistic appeals based on communal, ethnic, religious and other diverse forces which were always there but were either held in check because of functioning and faith in the development process or because of the capacity of the system to channelise them along the institutional framework of an open polity."

3. We tend to call it a moral crisis, crisis of leadership, crisis of character; that is, we tend "to look for instant causes" and "indulge in sweeping generalisations."²¹ Dr.Kothari's prognosis, however, treats it as "a crisis of institutions", as we have undermined "the whole framework of mediating between the government and the people, between the state and civil society, between technocratic think-tanks and the socio-cultural grass roots."²²²³

4. Some attempts were made in the '50s and '60s to reach the people, to involve them, to build an institutional network at the grass-roots.²⁴ But the resort to "populist" approach and "plebiscitary" politics relegated the "institutional problems" to the background. The institutional debate was revived in 1977-79, but the failure of the Janta experiment and the return of Mrs.Gandhi to power in 1980 gave a fresh lease of life to "centralised" and "personalised" politics.

5. Attention paid to the "institutional dimension has been rather perfunctory", expressed, as pointed out by Dr. Kothari, "a bit too simplistically, essentially along regional dimensions (states' rights) or the dimension of territorial decentralisation to lower levels of the polity (panchayati raj)"²⁵. Doubtless, such moves would conduce to the development of a "participatory" political culture. But in the absence of "socio-political movement" at the grass-roots, this approach will be "subject to manipulation by entrenched interests", who have cornered the opportunities and privileges, engendering a "dualism in society", so that we have "two Indias".^{25a}

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6. A "Peripheral" Sub-system : A "Peripheral State" :

This dualism has given rise to not one but two Indias, "one India that has pre-empted all avenues of prosperity and progress and another that is being pushed out of it all, in which it is those in the first India that make most of the decisions and impose these on the other India, in which contact between the two Indias is gradually declining, the first India getting increasingly immunised and quarantined against the other India, in which politics and administration are becoming at once centralised and alienated from the roots."²⁷

"It is this situation", remarks Dr. Kothari, "in which the masses of the people are not at the centre of the democratic process but made peripheral to it (or at best treated as targets at the time of elections)"²⁸. Dr. Manoranjan Mohanty has cited, inter-alia, "economic inequality" and "social stratification" which make "liberal democracy accessible mainly to the privileged."²⁹

7. Cynicism : Indifference : Alienation

The one great consequence of the model of develop-

ment which has produced "more maldevelopment" than development and the preoccupation of "modernisation with economic growth" and its insensitivity "to the dynamics of social conflict" has been that people have been either withdrawing "from larger affairs", becoming cynical or disdainful.³⁰⁻³¹

They just "wait for" some messiah to emerge from nowhere and solve everything, in the meanwhile leaving the field to some supermen.³² The scenario is characterised by an "emerging structure and technology of violence, the massive destruction of the environment and the growing marginalisation of the poor and the depressed."³³ The scenario is also characterised by a triple vacuum -- of leadership, of institutions, of values.³⁴

The degeneration of Gandhi- Nehru model over the years has resulted in serious distortions.

IV : The Emerging Pattern of Politics :-

The distortions and the resultant wide-spread insecurity in turn produce, inter alia, "politics of survival" "which is really not politics but politicking." Moreover, the vacuum is sought to be filled by "fundamentalists".³⁵

But Dr. Kothari has drawn attention to another simultaneous development;

There is "another and more positive attempt to fill the vacuum, namely the upsurge of grassroots, of widespread consciousness and turmoil among the people at large and of a new set of actors in the field. The failure of party politics and the democratic process (alongwith the failure of the democratic model) has produced this polarisation between communal upsurge on the one hand and peoples' aspiration and movement on the other. As the mediating structures and interstices of democratic politics have been eroded", perhaps, the only medium left is that "of violence", "of money", "of oppression". "The elite indulges in it through the violence perpetrated by the state and, as there is no other resource left, sections of the poor and the aggrieved too get trapped in it,"³⁷ It may be summarised as 3-MP syndrome:

- (a) Money Power.
- (b) Muscle Power.
- (c) Moral Passivity.

2. This environment, characterised as it is by this 3-MP syndrome breeds, and perpetuates, among other maladies, another syndrome:³⁷

- Injustice
- Violence.
- Communalism.³⁸

3. While external threats emerge and subside "assuming a cyclical rather than a linear trend", the process of "internal decay and degeneration", set in motion by the two syndromes, has had a steady course since 1967.³⁹ The postures, policies and programmes of "the ruling elite"⁴⁰ were pronounced, initiated and undertaken within the parameters of populist politics.⁴⁰ They have all proved short-lived, and ended as populist blinders. In retrospect, it may be said, that "the capitalist upswing of the corporate sector had already begun", with "serious consequences for the lower and dispossessed strata of population" and "the trend became less ambivalent after 1984 with the advent of a new elite unschooled in the niceties of politics" and "the sensitivities needed to hold the whole society together."⁴¹

4. During the last years of Mrs. Gandhi, India had disunity and discord; the phenomenon of "Two Indias", a polity presenting the dichotomy somewhat like this :

- The Rich and privileged with access to resources and technologies .
- The Poor and the Deprived, left out and considered dispensable.⁴²

5. The foregoing sketch, in which the "emerging

pattern" of the system was presented, brings into relief the state of the nation. It has been our contention how money, muscle, moral passivity have become the guiding stars in the sky of Indian politics. As a corollary, "value-based politics" looks as a chimera, an illusion of illusions. Before passing on to the next step, let it be submitted that leaders advocating violence, or acquiescing in the use of muscle-power; succumbing to the pressures of money-power, or accepting financial obligations or propped up by the corporate sector; practising political sophistry are not a rare species.⁴³ Whether this breed is in surfeit is a moot point.

V:

ORGANISING AND MANIPULATING.

Individuals are supposed to be "rational and self-interested", yet someone has to offer them some incentive, in order to organise them for "collective goods". This "someone" will "expend the efforts necessary to provide an incentive system and thereby organise the group" expecting to be rewarded. If the accruing benefits are greater than the organising costs plus the costs of the goods, there is a surplus⁴⁴ for him. But this is only one part of the "pattern of leadership recruitment", because there are many imponderables between the desire and fulfilment.

2. In the Indian context, the focus upto the late 1970s had been on the dominant party, the Congress; but in the later years, the situation has been quite volatile,⁴⁵ For the purpose of analysis, the following agenda may be worthy of notice:

(i) 'Recruitment' and Adjacent Concepts:

Valuable as it is "as an instrument for the analysis of the political process and as an indicator of systemic development,"⁴⁶ it is related to other concepts. More particularly, it is related to "Socialisation" in the sense that socialisation precedes as well as follows "recruitment", or both the functions act as each others agents.

"Recruitment" has, on the other hand, been treated at par with mobilisation in terms of utility as a conceptual tool of analysis vis-a-vis the developed and developing societies, both being treated as processes,⁴⁹ though "mobilisation" has a much wider range than "recruitment".

(ii) Placement :

"First, it represents a generalising of separate recruitment process with which political scientists have been concerned", — recruitment to parliament and political parties, the issues of "structure, organisation, procedure, training and promotion", recommendations for "securing greater representativeness" to make institutions more representative." But since in politics, unlike in specific institutions, recruitment becomes generalised, it will be difficult to locate the locus of decision.⁵⁰

"The second manner in which political recruitment has to be 'placed' is a derivative of elite theory. If elites are not unchanging, there must be some 'circulation' in the system; the critical points or junctures in the flow, upwards and downwards, can then be seen as recruitment (and dismissal) stations."⁵¹

"If a system is regarded as headed by not one but several elites, one of which is a political elite..... then political recruitment becomes a way of referring to one, relatively specialised selection process with its set of stations (or one aspect of general social process of selection).⁵²

(iii) Stages or Levels :

Bottomore's distinction between 'the political class' and 'the political elite' is more relevant to "leadership recruitment", as it delineates the 'class' from the "elite", demarcates different stages of their selection, and also brings out the distinction between "political recruitment" and "leadership recruitment".⁵³

(iv) The Sociological Angle :

In sociology, 'political elite' has been seen from a different angle, and many distinctions have been made.⁵⁴

3. "Institutional studies" and "studies of social group":

Two different types of studies may be undertaken, viz. "institutional" or "studies of social groups and their mobility". In the Indian context, one could study political parties, and para-political groups, and the recruitment of their leadership, or legislatures and the entrants.

4. "Parallel" and "Encapsulated" structures :

Morris-Jones has pointed out, with illustrations from the West, the existence of two types of political structures, some running "parallel to others", some "encapsulated within others." It will, therefore, follow "that recruitment processes within a system are also related in these two different ways."

5. Focus of a study of recruitment :

Focus so far has been mainly on :

- Either the outcome, i.e. characteristics; or
- the procedure.⁵⁶

While the "outcome" or "background" approach appears to be quite useful, its utility will depend on several other factors, e.g., how effective has been the role socialisation; how independent it has been of the social background. Morris-Jones has drawn attention to a very important limitation:

"If such role socialisation processes count for anything there will in fact not always be a complete fit between origins and attitudes."⁵⁷

Yet another limitation will be that this approach will fail to focus attention on "recruitment as a process", for it will leave two questions unanswered :

- — First, "from whom, effectively, were those who emerged, chosen?"
"Who else was entered for the race?"
- "Second, how are those who come into role A from group X differentiated from the other members of the same group X who by contrast moved into roles B and C?"⁵⁸

As for the studies which focus on "procedures", their stress has been on such things as the selectors' characteristics, predilections, likes and dislikes, temperaments, limitations of procedures. It would appear to be a good approach, as it takes into account the widest possible spectrum. But still, this approach will fall short of studying process of recruitment "as a process".⁵⁹

6. The Suggested Model Of Approach:

The "missing areas" may be indicated as under:

- Career routes.
- Aspiration Patterns.
- Catchment Areas.⁶⁰

In a modernising society like India, it will be essential to take interest not only in the procedures of selection and the origins and characteristics of the successful, but also to study :

(a) The Career routes of all those

- who competed and got in;
- who competed but failed to get in ;
- who competed, got in but stopped at particular 'check posts' ;
- who themselves decided not to go further; and
- those who opted for some other course.⁶¹

"The study of career routes could cover not only direction but also rates of flow. Politics would be seen from this angle as a matter ^{of} who travels where, furthest, fastest."⁶²

(b) Further, it will be necessary to study the Aspiration Patterns with reference to:

- the supply side, i.e. study of those who aspire to enter the roles, those who 'aspire' but do not 'apply', those who are eligible but neither 'aspire' nor apply ; and
- the demand side.⁶³

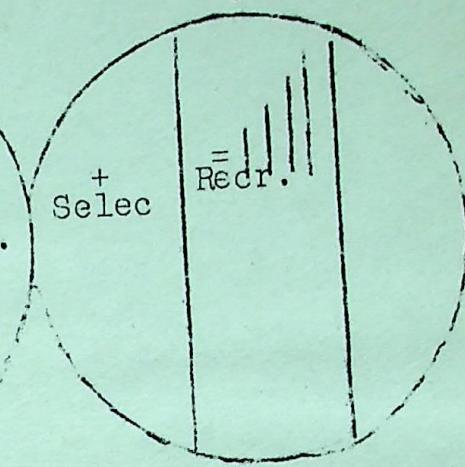
(c) It will be equally necessary to study the catchment area, i.e.,

- the "field" from which choice is to be made;
- the "selected group" at a level from which a choice has to be made ;
- the "chosen group" in relation to and in comparison with the population at large ;
- the selection by a procedure which entails "not a simple choice" but "a ranking".⁶⁴

Fig. 1

-14- Fig. 2

Fig. 3



- * Catchment Area.
- @ Eligibles.
- £ Aspirants.
- & Applicants.
- + Selectees.
- = Recruits.

Here, a few refinements may be offered as shown in figures 1 to 3 above. Figure 1 is the potential catchment area, i.e. it is the area which has many people who have the potential of becoming leaders. But for positive and negative reasons, such as, disinclination to face upto the 3-MP situation, inability to marshall resources, basic temperament of aversion to politics, or for any other reason do not qualify to be treated as eligibles. Even though some of them are eligible otherwise, they have been rendered ineligible by the intervention of distortions in the political system. The area on the right side of the vertical line contains those who are ready to offer themselves as candidates for recruitment. Figure 2 has three blocks, eligibles, i.e. those who qualify in the given context; aspirants i.e. those who have the ambitions to play the role; applicants, i.e. those who compete. A word about aspirants-applicants. Some of the aspirants may not apply and therefore, they may not be considered. Figure 3 has three blocks, selectees, i.e. those who offered themselves and succeeded in getting in; recruits, i.e. those who, having gone through the process of selection have become leaders. Near the recruits are four vertical lines indicating the level of achievement, i.e. rise in the echelons of leadership. The third block is plain, i.e. those who retire, withdraw, submerge.

VI: Finally, the Indian Political System in which distortions have taken place, in which 'modernisation' is encouraging new attitudes, new orientations, in which there are stresses, strains tensions and conflicts, attracts attention for a variety of reasons, as referred to in foregoing sections. The basic questions would be : who travels where ? How he travels ? Why he travels ? Why someone refuses to travel, or travel further? Has the "emerging pattern of politics" rendered 'eligibles' 'ineligibles', because they do not fit in the system where 'institutions', 'values', 'democratic process' are at a discount; where the 3-MP syndrome has a premium ; where some 'eligibles' have become 'non-aspirants', hence 'non-applicants', because they feel they have become "irrelevant"? And Morris Jones, while referring to the phrase "selection by apathy" used by Blondel, rightly remarks :

"The main ambiguity to be avoided can be indicated by making a distinction between aspirant and applicant. Or, using the other term, one must say that beyond every actual attachment area there is a potential catchment area..... Party selection committees may look at several possible parliamentary candidates before picking one, but there will have been other suitable aspirants who never got to the starting line. Clearly, in most processes of political selection, it is much easier to identify and examine the applicants than the aspirants."⁶⁵.

2. For want of a better term, India may, as the title suggests, be called a "peripheral state". Peripheral, because the political system has not shown "flexible responsiveness to the challenge of social change"⁶⁶ spurred by the process of 'modernisation' in a comprehensive sense, either qualitatively or quantitatively. This failure is, perhaps, traceable to the "top-down" model of development and its attendant consequences.⁶⁷ The marginalised, the poor, the destitute sections in the "multigroup societies"⁶⁸ are "peripheral", "dispensable" to those who make decisions.

3. Paradoxically, Indian political screen projects what MacIver

and Page said of the American democracy more than three decades back. To quote them :

"The consequence is a lack of national unity and cohesion, developing inter-group tensions and an unreckoned amount of frustration, embitterment and psychopathological disorganisation. In short, we live in a multi group society, but our attitudes, as members of groups, are attuned neither to its conditions nor to its needs."68a.

3. Another paradox. Even though pushed to the periphery, the "marginal" "destitute" groups make themselves heard. The Sharad Joshis, the Tikaitas, the Randossas, the Kanshi Rams, the Subhash Ghesings are not phantoms or passing shadows of ephemeral nature. There are also others.69 Notwithstanding the tendency to dismiss them as "noise factor", who knows, they may be that "potential catchment area" which will throw up aspirant - applicants? May be, 'modernisation' has already opened new vistas out of their enclaves. They appear to fill the bill as leaders, as they have incentives to offer in the form of "collective goods" to their groups. They have shown their organising, manipulating, manoeuvring capability. They have already expended the necessary efforts to provide an "incentive system". They have successfully demonstrated their 'mussels'. Money they may not lack. Moral passivity they may acquire, because as individuals and as groups they will adjust and readjust to the environment. As for entry points, political parties are not necessarily the only ones, though, for "rule-making" and "rule implementation", ingress into them becomes necessary. But the leadership emergence may be through routes other than direct enrolment in the lower-echelons of party hierarchy.

Conclusion : "Leadership recruitment" may have its 'catchment area' in caste, religion, community, regions, sub-regions, class— peasants, labour, minorities — religious, linguistic, ethnic. There may be areas of overlap. Value-based politics has a big question mark (?). If, on the one hand, a new /

new type of leadership emerges for various reasons, on the other, the old/old type of leadership submerges for similar reasons.

Notes and references:

1. Impacter in old French; Impactus in Latin—used as a verb, it conveys the sense of striking against.
2. Rostow ... , View From the Seventh Floor, sterling, Delhi, 1960, p.98. Rostow has cited the indices of modernisation prepared by the centre for International studies at M.I.T in 1960.
3. Ibid, P-98.
4. Apter, David E, The Politics of Modernisation, p-42, cited and quoted in Davis, Morton R and Lewis, Vaughan A. (Eds.) Models of Political Systems, Vikas Publications, Delhi, p-63.
5. Ibid, pp 63-64.
6. Ibid, p-64. See also Mac Iver, R.M and Page, Charles H, Society-An Introductory Analysis, Macmillan and co-Ltd. London , 1957, PP 620-623.
7. Apter, David E, as in note 4, p-xiii. The editors express the view: "Here, as in the work of Almond, there is a suggestion of teleological analysis, but one that does not specify a particular end--the process is 'open-ended'." See P-168, note 13, notes and references.
8. See The Premises of World Tensions, deliberations of a meeting of academicians, development experts, diplomats held at the University of Chicago in May, 1960, published in India, sterling, Delhi, 1st Edn., 1966, a fairly detailed analysis of some of the problems of modernisation, projection of an inter-state, global screen.
9. 'Tensions' or 'conflicts' may be studied with reference to caste, class, religion, region, sub-region.
10. Vanniyar movement in Tamil Nadu, frequent killings in Bihar, Kshetkari Andolan in M.S., B.K.U agitation in Western U.P various agitations by womens' organisations; Nathdwara episode; Ram Janma bhoomi Babri Masjid issue in U.P, politico-religious mix of Punjab; ethnic movements-Bodo Jharkhand, Kamatpur, Udyachal, Mizoram-to-Greater Mizoram Gorkhaland are symptomatic of the strains, tensions and Conflicts.
11. Indebtedness acknowledged: Morris-Jones, W.S.: Politics Mainly Indian, orient Longman, Bombay..., 1978 P-156.
12. Ibid., pp-192-195. Morris-Jones posits a "hunch" concerned entirely with the consequences of India's political system, expressed in three hypotheses:
 - i "a new political outlet for the increasing competitiveness of Indian rural life."
 - ii Strengthening of the congress in rural areas.

iii In the internal life of the Congress, those who do not make it to the state would be accommodated down below.

13. Almond, Gabriel A: 'Input Functions' and 'Output functions' "based as they are on modern Western (that is, liberal-democratic) systems, input functions are seen as being performed by non-governmental sub-systems of the political system, the society and the general environment: by pressure-groups, schools, political parties, independent newspapers and so on. On the other hand, the output functions are governmental ones....." See Davidies Morton R and Lewis Vaughan A., op. cit., pp-38-39.

14 See Maciver, R.M and Page, Charles H, op.Cit., pp 439-440.

15 Ibid., pp-148-149.

16 Ibid., P-146.

17 Ibid, PP.428-429. Maciver and Page have dealt with the subject from a sociological angle in the context of "crowd" a connotation for the mass of the people.

17a Section I, Sub section 5 , ante, page 3.

18 The Hindustan Times, Sunday Magazine Section, 10/08/1986, pp1-2, "India Without Institutions."

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. For instance, community development, co-operatives, panchayati-raj.

25. Kothari, Dr. Rajni n.18.

26 See for a useful and penetrating analysis Dr. Bayo Ninalowo, "Contradictions of a Peripheral state: A case study of Nigeria", Foreign Affairs Reports, Vol. XXXVI, No.1, January, 1987. Coincidentally, Dr. Kothari's analysis, n.18 points in the same direction.

25a This phrase in fact, reflects a "dichotomy", symptomatic of "social stratification" and "social conflict" in Afro-Asian nations. See Jai Bhagwan, "Philippines; New Dimension of the old Dichotomy", Foreign Affairs Reports, Vol XXXVII, Nos. 1 and 2 , January-February, 1988.

27 Dr. Kothari, Rajni, Hindustan Times, Sunday Magazine, 17/08/1986, This India--A Rajni Kothari Col., P-1.

28 Ibid.

29. Mohanty, Dr. Manoranjan, "Political comprehension of the Post - colonial Period", "Foreign Affairs Reports", Vol. XXXVI, No. 5, May, 1987, P-72 and pp 69 to 71, *passim*.

30-31 See Dr. Kothari, N.27 and Mohanty (underlined portions) n.29.

32 Kothari N.27.

33 Dr. Kothari, N.27.

34 Ibid.

35 Dr. Kothari, Hindustan Times, Sunday Magazine, 24/08/1986 "Visions gone Astray", pp. 1-2.

36 Dr. Kothari, n. 27.

37 Ibid.

38 Dr. Kothari has termed it as "one common syndrome." See "A spectre Haunts The Nation", in A.Rajni Kothari column, Hindustan Times, Sunday Magazine section, 31/08/1986 pp.142.

39 Ibid. Dr. Kothari has expressed the opinion that after 1957, the system has steadily been suffering, setbacks and distortions for the reason that institutional decline had begun in the '60s in post Nehru period.

40. Nationalisation of Banks, Abolition of Privy Purses and privileges, "Garibi Hatao", "the Janata Wave", government that works", "21st century", "new work ethics". etc.

41. Dr. Kothari note 38.

42 Ibid.

43 See for instance, (a) Hindustan Times, Delhi, 09/07/1986, P-4, carrying report of denial of Rajya Sabha nomination to a trade unionist, who was asked to withdraw in favour of a person who had the full weight of a commercial house thrown behind him. (b) Hindustan times, Delhi, 16/07/86 P-16 carrying a report how two leading personality of Tamil Nadu Politics asked their follower to take violence as a political weapon.

44 See Frohlich, Norman and Oppenheimer, Joe A, Modern Political Economy, Prentice Hall of India Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi - 1978, P.66.

45 Ibid, p. 67. The entire chapter Four "Political Organising and Political Entrepreneurs" offers a good analysis.

46 These observations do not, however, disturb the parameters of this paper in the fore-running sections because the political system and sub-systems remain, mutatis mutandis, as they have emerged.

47 Morris-Jones, W.H.: n-11, P 264.

48 Almond, G.A. and Coleman, J.S (Eds). The Politics of the Developing Area Princeton, 1960, pp26-32.

49. See for instance Nettle, J.P., Political Mobilization London, 1967, pp 19-25.

50. Morris Jones, n.11, pp 265-266. The Indian experience may not, however, sustain Morris-Jones' view.

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EMERGENT NATURE OF RULER LEADERSHIP AND CHANGING
STYLE OF THEIR FUNCTIONS IN POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA
(A Study of Jammu Province of J&K State)

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" Local Self Government is, and must
be the basis of any true system of
democracy. We have got, rather, into
the habit of thinking of democracy
at the top and not so much below.
Democracy at the top will not be a
success unless it is built on this
foundation from below".

Jawahar Lal Nehru.

The State of Jammu and Kashmir is administratively divided into two divisions namely Jammu and Kashmir including Ladakh.

Jammu division, however, consists of 6 districts, 30 tehsils, 57 C.D. blocks and 3,394 villages. The total geographical area of Jammu division is 26,395 square kilometers which supported a population of 20.76 lakhs in 1971. The population of Jammu division registered an increase of about 31 percent in 1981 as compared to 1971 and is placed at 27.18 lakhs in 1981. One important feature of the population of the division is that in 1981, 99.88% of the scheduled caste population of the state was concentrated in this part of the state alone. The scheduled caste population which forms more than 18 per cent of the total population of the division faces its own peculiar problems so far as its development is concerned. Out of the total population of the division, about 7.89 lakhs persons reported themselves as main workers. Thus the work participation rate (main workers only) works out to 29.04 percent. It is against 30.37 percent for the whole of the State. Jammu division has made good progress so far as literacy is concerned. The literacy percentage increased from 12 in 1961 to 21 in 1971 and further to 30 in 1981 while the percentage of the literacy for the whole of the state rose from 11 in 1961 to 26 in 1981.

The local political phenomena, to a large extent, is under the control of Panchayti Raj

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As local self government, is the best possible instrument to distribute powers on democratic lines, important units for achievements of decentralisation of political powers and promotion of democratic values, vital instruments to provide political education and civic consciousness to mobilise the local efforts and resources in the common task of nation building, to serve as a training ground for the politicians to function and the state and central level, it is indispensable for the success of democracy. It is here that the programmes of national development are put in action and people learn their first lesson of democratic rules.

The local government is at the bottom of pyramids of governmental institutions with national government at the top and intermediate governments (regional and provincial) occupying the middle range.

Hence, with the establishment of Panchayats

in the villages in 1935 under the Jammu and Kashmir village panchyat regulation of Samvat 1992, began the history of Panchayats in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Then followed the series of village Panchayats Acts i.e. Village Panchayat Act (Amendment Act) of Smt. 1998 (1940-41), ~~xxxxxx~~ Revised village panchayat Act of 1952 and A New Village Panchayat Act No. XXIII of 1958, which is still in operation.

Hence the local political phenomena, to a large extent is under the control of Panchayat Raj leaders who have been dominating the whole complex structure of power. They are believed to be new agents of socio-economic change, development and modernisation. The socio-economic variables studied ^{so far} pointed out that some leaders are educated but poor, some of them are landlords but illiterates.

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leaders who have been dominating the whole complex structure of power. They are believed to be new agents of socio-economic change, development and modernisation. The socio-economic variables studied pointed out that some leaders are educated but poor, some of them are landlords but illiterate.

Studies

The socio-economic indicate the nature of the ~~rural~~ leadership. They are local persons brought up in their respective localities. Most of them are modernised and well acquainted ^{with} the modern scientific knowledge of agricultural production. All the castes whether upper or lower, backward or scheduled are sharing power in rural political system without discrimination. In certain places majority castes is dominant. But in some other the dominant castes are not influential variable in the selection of the members of panchayats as well as of Sarpanches. Although lower income group strata also aspir^es for leadership role in the rural areas, yet higher income group dominates in the local power circle. In majority of cases middle class landlords have occupied the leadership role in the rural areas. Though Sarpanches adopt various other professions to improve their economic status, yet agriculture still remains their main professions.

However, the political socialisation of the rural ~~elites~~ ^{the} past independence phenomeno. Prior to partition and independence, the political participation was almost sparingly available to only to 5 to 8% ^{only} of the literate population. The political participants were mostly landlords, lumberdars, village officials, Zaildars and money lenders. The

rest of ^{the} population was quite ignorant of the political phenomena. ^{because of the fact that} The pattern of Govt., was ^ufederalistic and authoritatian.

But elite ~~in/post~~ independence era democratic elite with new aspirations, orientations and new democratic values. In contrast old rural elites were hereditary and less politicized and mostly ~~authoritarian~~ authoritarian in style as well as in character. The new emerging elite has been politicized on the democratic lines.

In pre-independence day, small fraction of the rural leaders did participate in political process of Jammu ^{Province} ~~district~~. But ^{the} post-independence period politicized the majority of the rural leaders. The majority of the leaders were politically socialized by the leaders of higher status. Higher status political leaders changed the vision, understanding and beh vious of local rural leaders by imparting political education and training through public meetings and personal contact and influence. One third of the rural sarpanches were found to be self-motivated in their careers.

Family also acted as an agent of political socialisation to some of the ~~leaders~~ leaders. Majority of the leaders discuss politics with their family members. Some of the ^{Their} ~~leaders~~ express that their nearest relatives and family member hold public or political offices. As politically socialized persons helps in the political attitude formation, majority of leaders desire that their children should ^{also} participate

in politics. They desire that their children too join one or ~~the~~ another political parties. Moreover, political parties also assist them in getting pol. socialization.

The recruitment pattern of the rural elite is based on multi-factors such as their affiliation with non-government operated organisation e.g. trade union, caste organisations and various ~~communities~~ committees. They are recruited in the Govt. sponsored organisations with the aim of training and popular participation, ~~the~~ other factors which induce them ~~for~~ political participation are social service, party encouragement or persuasion, voting, election, education etc. Sometime certain local problems and events stimulated the leaders to enter politics of community development, locality development, counter corrupt officers or person in political arena ^{and} idea to serve the country. Social reforms, to help the poor, ego-satisfaction, promotion of democratic attitude, ~~locality development~~, to establish rapport with the officials, to settle their personal scores with rivals and to uplift minority communities.

So far as the perceptions of ruler elites ^{international} in respect of the local, national and ~~int.~~ problems ^{do} are concerned we may point out that rural elites have awareness about the local problem such as improvement of agriculture on modern lines, health, economic facilities, development etc.

The majority of the rural elite have a sound knowledge about the state level problems also. For example in a study conducted by Mr. Hans Raj Sharma,

of 'Rural Leadership in Jammu District' 1980, 61%

rural elites had knowledge about Art. 370 of Indian constitution, 41% knew the about Nehru - Sheikh Agreement of 1952. 85% had knowledge of Indira - Sheikh Accord of 1975. 91% of them were aware of the movement of regional autonomy spear headed by some organisation in Kashmir.

The political knowledge of the rural elites particularly of Sarpanches of the Panchayats is quite sound. Majority of them have knowledge about the role of political parties at national ~~xxx~~ levels, P.M.'s twenty point economic programme, development through Five Year plans, development programmes through community development ~~schemes~~ schemes, Family planning, child health etc.

So far as their knowledge about International problems, it was not as good as in other cases, mentioned above. But most of them have knowledge about what is happening in our neighbouring countries such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan. This is because of the fact that education from primary level to the University level is free and hence it is spreading like wild life with the extension of more education institutions. The majority of the people, therefore, interested in ^{reading} daily newspapers and other journals. It is thus, apparent that political knowledge component of the rural leadership in Jammu province of Kashmir State is higher as compare with that of some other states. But inspite of ^{the} ~~it~~ the emergent rural leadership is still sectarian, parochial and caste-ridden in ~~periphery~~ ^{periphery} i.e. in some of the remote areas of Jammu. But in ^{the} hinterland of the province,

rural leadership is secular in outlook and approach.

As the development role and decision making style of the elite lie in their ability and capacity to understand and grasp the existing rural problems, we may conclude that the new rural leadership use the opportunities offered to them not for the promotion of secular and democratic ideas but to articulate the interest of almost all the segments of the society living in the locality. The rural leadership particularly of Jammu district is determined to change the present social composition by indulging in new activities in the field of agricultural production and small scale industries. Although they do not want to discard their deep rooted traditional cultural values yet at the same time they are anxious to accept new values and patterns of modernized agriculture and technology.

They are experienced in decision making and policy-making processes. They got training due to the adopting of Panchayat Raj system and anxious to bring out rural development.

But it has been noticed that the democratic style of functioning of the rural leadership has not yet come up to the expectation of the masses. For example women have not been encouraged to contest for panchayat posts. Same is in the case of scheduled castes. However, some seats for them are kept reserved as provided by the J&K village Panchayat Act 1958.

The powers in rural areas are concentrated in a few hands. For example same person is the Sarpanch of a Panchayat, President of cooperative society, Block President or Halqa President of the political parties. He is position holder in the caste organisations as well as.

In certain cases emerging elites in the rural areas have aggravated factionalism, personal rivalries, caste prejudices and loyalties. These factors did influence the allocation of grants, opening of new schools, dispensaries, electrification of villages and constructing of the roads etc.

The ~~ruler~~ leadership which have its say in the higher circles get the problems of their localities solved easily and quickly.

Moreover, rural elites are capable to mobilise the masses keeping in view the forthcoming elections. They will always like to remain in good books of the voters and retain their confidence to ensure their relations in future. They are always helpful to the candidates of parties who are contesting the election ^{for} of the State legislature as well as for Lok Sabha.

PARTY SYSTEM IN INDIA

A SPECIAL FOCUS ON THE REGIONAL PARTIES

A

TERM PAPER

submitted for the fulfilment of the 1st Semester Course of the Degree of Master of Philosophy at the Post-Graduate Department of Political Science, University of Jammu, Jammu-180 001.

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CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

There is nothing more important than the political party that can aggregate and represent public opinion in modern democracy. But, as there are different opinions, different political parties exist. In a country like India having different races, religions, languages, cultures and history, it is not surprising in emerging many different political parties. However, the Indian National Congress, which was born and growth up with the Indian National Movement, has been dominating the Indian political scene. Any other political party in India could not earn this superiority and none of them could challenge the Congress even as a forceful opposition.

In the time of formation of the Indian Union, just before the inauguration of the Indian Republic on 26th January 1950, Sardar Vallabhai Patel, the then Deputy Prime Minister and Minister-in-Charge of States, and his Secretary, V.P. Menon took a painful task of integration. They, anyhow, had succeeded to complete the integration before 1950. Since independence the congress had been the binding thread of all those States. It ruled both at the centre as well as in the States, except a very few States. There were not much hearing about the challenge against the superiority of the Congress. In fact, in India the people were living with good hopes of the superiority of the Congress. But since 1969 there were continuous intra-party factionalism inside the Congress and it loosed the general public confidence. The overthrow of the Congress rule at the Centre by the Janata Party in 1977 added a new dimension of suspicion about the existence of the Congress superiority.

After the 1980 Lok Sabha elections the Congress under the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi, regained its lost superiority and this gave a new hope to the general public.

But, recently a strong regional wave has been coming up in the Indian political scene. Many regional parties were gaining power in the States, e.g. in Jammu and Kashmir, Tamil Nadu, and very recently in Andhra Pradesh. There have also been many regional problems, specially in the North-eastern States comprising Manipur, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura and very newly and unexpectedly in Assam, in Punjab and in the southern states. Many conclaves of the opposition parties have been formed and it has tried to fight against the superiority of the Congress. Indeed, the regional parties are becoming a strong force in the States as well as in the national politics.

It is from this situations that recently the issue, as to whether the increasing strength of the regional parties or regionalism will affect the Indian integrity, has been revived. Importance of the regional parties has been given in many seminars, conferences and mass media. This widespread fearness of the general public gives a new look to the social scientists to examine the regional parties in India.

The aim of the present paper is a short effort of finding out something on the above problem. But for the sake of personal conveniences, the paper will discuss only the origin and developments, programme and ideologies, support base and durability and electoral performances of the regional parties in India,

giving a particular reference to the National Conference (Jammu and Kashmir), the Akali Dal (Punjab), the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Tamil Nadu), the Telugu Desham (Andhra Pradesh) and the Manipur Peoples' Party (Manipur).

But the regional parties are not the only ones that are born out of the local culture of the local groups. We can also see that this group has no any interest of the larger whole, it is the question of preference and degree.

For instance, due to the long over rule of the Congress in the States, and the failure of other national parties to challenge the predominant nature of the Congress, some group mainly who are not satisfied with the Congress rule wanted to have an alternative party. Owing the difficulties of forming a national party, the dissatisfied group geared up a sub-nationalism, which in turn they form a base of a new party.

In other times, the regional parties are coming out as a result of continuous intra-party factionalism inside the dominant party. Factionalism and infaction reduces the strength of the ruling party, and consequently a stable government cannot exist. As a result of the instability, the general confidence to the existing parties becomes loose. Then, the people turn to an alternative party.

In some States, the regional parties are born and developed with historical epoch of the State. They gave their sacrifices for the cause of the State. They are the custodians as well as the servant of the people. They tend to protect the integrity, status and identity of the State.

In short, the origin and development of the regional

CHAPTER-II

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENTS

Commonly, the emergence of the regional parties are due to the regional or sub-national interest. Some group of people want and think the welfare of the local group. But this does not mean that this group has no any interest of the larger whole; it is the question of preference and degree.

Sometimes, due to the long over rule of the Congress in the States, and the failure of other national parties to challenge the over-dominant nature of the Congress, some group mainly who are not satisfied with the Congress rule wanted to have an alternative party. Owing the difficulties of forming a national party, the dissatisfied group geared up a sub-nationalism, which in turn they form a base of a new party.

In other times, the regional parties are coming out as a result of continuous intra-party factionalism inside the dominant party. Factionalism and defection reduces the strength of the ruling party, and consequently a stable government cannot exist. As a result of the unstableness, the general confidence to the existing parties becomes loose. Then, the people want a new alternative party.

In some States, the regional parties are born and developed with historical epoch of the State. They gave tremendous sacrifices for the cause of the State. They were the guidance as well as the servant of the people. They tried to protect the integrity, status and identity of the State.

In short, the origin and development of the regional

parties is not an exception to the general theory of the emergence of the political parties.

The National Conference : The National Conference, as popularly known, is so far the best and well organised regional political party in Jammu and Kashmir. It started as the "All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference" in 1932 and had undergone different stages in its development.

The people of the State ~~were~~ not satisfied with the suppressive rule of the Maharajas. The educated youths in Kashmir, specially the Muslims were restless due to the growing unemployment. The muslims, the majority people of the state, took their education late. They faced a tug competition for jobs with highly qualified Hindu youths. Thus, they were frustrated. This frustration turned into anger when they witnessed the appointment of Dogra Rajputs of 'mediocre abilities' to high state posts.¹ Besides the exclusion from the state services, the taxation and legal systems of the state caused a great dissatisfaction among the middle and lower class muslims.²

From the very beginning the mass media in the State was suppressed by the Maharajas. Any news paper was not allowed to be published without the permission of the Maharaja. The State government had a suspicious eye even to those persons who subscribed any papers or magazines.³ Thus the public opinion

1. Bamjai, P.N.K., A History of Kashmir, Metropolitan Book Co. Ltd., New Delhi, 1973, p. 706.
2. Yasin, Md.(ed.), History of Freedom Struggle in Jammu & Kashmir, Light Publishing Publication, New Delhi, 1980, p.59.
3. Bamjai, P.N.K., op.cit. p. 708.

could not be channelized in proper ways. The government could not get the genuine issues. As a result, all the efforts of the government were useless and the dissatisfaction of the people grew day by day.

During the time of the Indian Independent movement, though the Maharaja Hari Singh kept an iron-curtain around his State boundary, the young students of the state got influence from the leaders of the Indian National Movement. They were inspired by the 'Non-Cooperation' and 'Satyagraha' movement of Gandhi.

Even though the ideas of 'freedom' were in the minds of the people of the state in general and the young people in particular, they could not materialise this ideas into realities. It was mainly due to the lack of good leader and a mass consciousness. It was only when the young educated people of the state, who got their degrees from outside universities, came back to the state that they started organisation and formal movements. At first, since the Maharaja did not give permission for holding public meetings or discussion, the organisations were started as 'prayer meetings' in the mosque after their formal prayer. A group of young educated youths named as the 'Reading Room Party' took strong measures for the prayer meetings and Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, a fresh from the Aligarh University with an M.Sc. degree, became a prominent figure of the party.

On 21st June, 1931, a public meeting was convened in the compound of the "Khanqah" of Shah Hamadan.⁴ The propose of the

4. Ibid., p. 715.

meeting was to select a delegation to present a petition to the government of the Maharaja Hari Singh.⁵

At the end of the meeting, one Abdul Qadir, who had come to Kashmir as a cook of a European visitor in Srinagar, stood up and delivered a 'provocative' speech. The speech was considered as seditious by the government and Abdul Qadir was arrested. The muslim people were anxious and excited by the arrest of Qadir. A huge crowd assembled at the court complex on the hearing day, the 13th July, 1931. They (the crowd) demanded for the withdrawal of the case against Qadir, and at last there was a clash between the crowd and the police. To control over the crowd the police opened fire and twenty one persons died, many were wounded and hundreds of peoples including Abdullah and other leaders were arrested.

The incident gave a wide-spread political consciousness in the people of the State. They had started open demonstrations against the Maharaja. "True, there had been demonstrations in Kashmir earlier against the Maharajas particularly by the shawl weavers, and often by the peasants. But never before had the entire Muslims population risen as one man against the authorities. It is from that date the people took upon themselves the task of securing for themselves the right of democratic self-rule."⁶

5. Lockwood, D.E., The "Lion of Kashmir" Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Dispute over the Relationship between Jammu and Kashmir State and the Indian Union (a Ph.D. Thesis), the John Hopkins University, Washington, D.C., 1971, p. 41.
6. Bamjai, P.N.K., op.cit., pp. 715-716.

Shortly, the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference was formed. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the prominent figure of the 'Reading Room Party', was its President. The new party had its inaugural session in Srinagar during October 15-17, 1932.⁷ The All- Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, by its very name, was unable to attract the Hindu population of the State, specially of the Jammu region. Its leader, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah was quick to realise this loophole in his party organisation and he had expressed the need of uniting Hindu and Muslims as early as in 1935.⁸ The formal initiative for converting the Muslim Conference into a more secular party, however, came something late. The initiative of the conversion came from the Working Committee of the party. On June 26, 1938 the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference, after a heated discussion, passed a resolution recommending to the General Council to allow all people to become its members.⁹ On June 11, 1939, in Srinagar a 'Special session' of the Muslim Conference approved the recommendation of the Working Committee and it resolved as follows :

"From this day, the name of the Muslim Conference is changed into the National Conference and all those who believe in the objective of responsible and democratic government in the State can become its members irrespective of caste, creed or religion."¹⁰

Now the National Conference became a more secular party. It could enjoy the confidence and support of the majority people. But, in 1964, when the party was merged with the Indian National Congress, the party lost its superiority in the State politics for nearly a decade.

7. Lockwood, D.E., op.cit., p. 44.
8. Yasin, Md. (ed.), op.cit., p. 61.
9. Bamjai, PNK, op.cit., p. 723.
10. Lockwood, D.E., op.cit., p. 50.

In 1975 there were an agreement between Sheikh Abdullah and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India. Under this "Indira-Sheikh Accord" of 1975, the Mir Qasim, the then Congress Chief Minister of the State, stepped down and Sheikh Abdullah became the Chief Minister. But, shortly, Abdullah wanted to revive the old National Conference.¹¹ Later on, the Congress also withdrew its support from Sheikh Abdullah. Consequently, Abdullah advised the Governor to dissolve the Assembly and to have a new election. The elections were held in 1977 and the National Conference re-emerged in the elections with its full form. In the elections of 1977 and 1983, the party got absolute majority. Thus, the National Conference with its superiority came out in the State politics.

The Akali Dal : The Shiromani Akali Dal is an off-spring of the Sikh Movements. The 'Sikh Movement' is not a new thing. From the early times the Sikh Community tried for the upliftment of the Sikhs. In the beginning the movements were purely socio-religious nature. But those movements were the main sources of a mass political consciousness of the Sheikh community.

The "Singh Sabha Movement" was one of the oldest organisations formed for the upliftment of the Sikh masses. It came out as a response to the increasing Christian missionary in Punjab. In 1873, four Sikh boys were converted into christian.¹² A few Sikh intellegentia, following an agitation

11. Singh, Balbir, State Politics in India, Mac-Millan India Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 85.

12. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, Punjabi Suba: The Study of the Struggle, U.C. Kapur & Sons, Delhi, 1970, pp. 7-8.

hold against the conversion of the Sikhs into Christianity, formed the 'Singh Sabha'. The main objectives of the 'Sabha' were restoration of the Sikh rituals and elimination of their religious practices, propagation of the Sikh religion as directed by the Sikh Guru, up-lift of the Punjabi Language, opening of Sikh Schools and colleges for giving education to Sikh Youths in Sikh tradition and giving membership of the 'Sabha' only to the sikhs.

The "Chief Khalsa Dewan" was another socio-religious-political organisation. It had its first meeting at Lahore in 1887.¹³ Its programme included revival of the Sikh way of life and removal of the social evils, to make political demands for justice in the community.

In 1920 the Sikh movement turned towards the gurdwaras. Some of the hinduised mahants had started claiming proprietary rights over the Gurdwaras.¹⁴ The secret religious gurdwaras became the place of corruptions. Under the 'Gurdwara Reforms Movement' the Sikhs tried to capture the gurdwaras from the clutches of the mahants. After the successful capturing of the Golden Temple and some other gurdwaras, the representatives of the sikhs formed the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee.¹⁵ The Committee was regarded as the "Parliament of the Sikhs" and it served as a sort of training ground for entering the Sikhs into the political arena.¹⁶ It looked after the culture and religious interests of the Sikhs all over the world. Thus, all the Sikhs became the students of the Committee.

13. Ibid., p. 10.

14. Singh, Dr. Dalip, Dynamics of Punjab Politics, MacMillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, p. 11 (foot note No.14).

15. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, op.cit., pp. 20-21.

16. Singh, Dalip, op.cit., p. 79.

The Volunteers of the 'Gurdwara Reforms Movement' succeeded in capturing the control of the gurdwaras from the hands of the mahants. This continuous success encouraged the Sikh Leadership to channelize the sentiments and feelings by organising them into a purely political organisation, and it was for this, that the Shiromani Akali Dal was founded on 24th January, 1921.¹⁷

The co-existence of the two organisations and leaderships- on the one side the socio-religious SGPC and its leader, and on the other the purely political Akali Dal and its leader- forms the politics of Punjab a unique of its kind. Besides, the leader of the S.G.P.C. many times entered the political arena and became the leader of the Akali Dal. Sometimes, Akali Dal sought advice from the S.G.P.C. for its further programme, or in other time, the two organisations agree on the same programme. It is, therefore, not surprising to have a close relation between politics and religion in Punjab.

In the time of the 'Indian Freedom Movement', the Dal also had participated the movement. Its fighting against the mahants and the British imperialism, could get sympathy from the Congress Party and other freedom movement leaders.¹⁸

In its way of development, the Akali Dal had the intra-party split and re-union, inter-party merger and coalition and alliances with other parties. In the May 1980 elections, the

17. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, op.cit., p. 21.

18. Sarhadi, Ajit Singh, op.cit., p. 26; Singh, Mohinder, The Akali Movement, MacMillan Co. of India Ltd., Delhi, 1978, pp. 138-39.

party again splited on the leadership ground, and since then there are two factions of the party, namely the Akali Dal (Talwandi group) and the Akali Dal (Sant group).

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam : The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) was formally formed in 1949, But its origin can be traced back to before independence. Its movement started as a protest movement against the Brahmin. The Brahmins were leading the Congress in Madras. Besides, in many respects the Brahmins were superior to the non-Brahmins. Thus, the Justice Party, a party of the non-Brahmins (Dravidians), was formed in 1916 to uplift the non-Brahmins.¹⁹

In 1925, E.V. Ramasami Naicker founded the Self-Respect Movement or League. Its aim was also to uplift the Dravidian communities and for that matter, to fight against the superiority of the Brahmins.

Both the Justice Party and the Self Respect League were not a wide based political parties. For making a strong and widely based political party, the two parties united in 1944 and it formed the Dravida Kazhagam.²⁰ The main objectives of the new party were to give equal treatment and respect to all kinds of races, to eradicate untouchability, to stop all the luxurious festivals and wasteful, to use the income coming from Hindu Religious Institutions for the promotion of education, social welfare, uplift of the poor, etc. and equal property rights to women. The leader of the party was E.V.R. Naicker and other prominant members of the party were J.P. Soundara Pandian,

19. Weiner, Myron and Field, J.O., Studies in Electoral Politics in the Indian States, Vol. IV, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1975, p. 74.

20. Ibid., pp. 76-77.

V.V. Ramasamy, C.N. Annadurai and M. Karunanidhi.²¹ E.V.R. Naicker, the leader of the party, interpreted the Hindu scriptures as non-Davidian and sole creation of the Brahmins.²²

The Union of the Justice Party and the Self Respect League in forming the Dravida Kazhagam was going on smoothly only a decade. There were differences inside the party. The difference of opinions between the two leaders, Annadurai and Naicker was crucial and it led to a party split. Annadurai wanted "democratization of leadership within the party", whereas Naicker did not believe in it.²³ Thus a rift had been arisen between the two leaders. The rift was opened and reached its climax in 1949, when the dissidents of the party led by Mr. Annadurai formed the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (The Dravida Progressive Association).²⁴ Its original leaders, besides Annadurai, were N.V. Natarajan, M. Karunanidhi and E.V.K. Sampath (nephew of Naicker).

There was a great factional tussle between the organisational and extra-organisational (cinema group) personalities inside the D.M.K. Party. In 1972, the degree of the tussle between the two group reached its hight. M.G. Ramachandran, the leader of the cinema group, got his popularity from drama and cinema field. As a result of the tussle, M. Karunadhi dismissed M.G. Ramachandran (MGR) even from the primary membership of the party.²⁵

21. 'Regional Political Parties in Tamil Nadu', a paper presented at the 42nd Annual All India Political Science Conference, Hyderabad, May 15-18, 1983, p.4.
22. UNI Back grounders, Vol. IV (No.45), U.N.I., New Delhi, p.1.
23. Ibid., p.3.
24. Spratt, p., D.M.K. in Power, Nachiketa Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1970, p.38.
25. "Regional Parties of Tamil Nadu: A Case Study of A.I.A.D.M.K.", a paper presented at the 42nd All India Political Science Conference, 15-18 May 1983, Hyderabad, p.6.

The M.G.R. faction, after coming out of the party, formed the "Anna D.M.K" which later on known as the "All India Anna D.M.K", based on the ideology followed by C.N. Annadurai, their great former leader.

The Telugu Desham : The Telugu Desham, the latest regional political party in Andhra Pradesh, was formed only in March, 1982.²⁶ The ""matinee idol" Nandamuri Taraka Rama Rao, popularly known as NTR, is its leader. The party is totally a new and in the term of Duverger, its origin is purely of outside the "Parliamentary Circle".

There were repeated changing of the Congress Ministry in Andhra Pradesh having a maximum of four times in two years. There were also many dissatisfaction among the partymen. Within a fortnight the Congress party expelled 85 congressmen, who later on fight as independent candidates against the party candidates.

Secondly, the people were dissatisfied with the ruling congress. Among the discontented people the Muslims, who were formerly supporters of the Congress(I), did not want to be the "blind followers" of the Congress (I).²⁷

Thirdly, there were no strong base of the communist parties or Janata Party in the State. The popularity of the Communist Party that once were in the Telangana region lost due to the successive party splits and desertion from their ranks.

The Janata Party also has no organisational base

26. India Today, October 15, 1982, p.60.

27. Ibid., January 15, 1983, p.26.

except in some small parts of Telangana while the Bharatiya Janata Party has support in a constituency only.²⁸

Thus, it is not surprising when the Telugu Desham is coming out as a regional party with a strong promise that it will fulfil the desire of the Telugu people. It is an alternative choice of the people of Andhra Pradesh.

The Manipur Peoples' Party : There was a strong "Assembly Demand" movement in Manipur in the early months of 1960. An "Assembly Demand Co-ordinating Committee" demanded for a full-fledge state Assembly. At that time Manipur was under the direct control of the Centre through a Chief Commissioner. The movement demanded for ending up the Chief Commissioner rule and many charges were made against the government. Most important charges put against were of "de-Manipurisation" of Key posts in the Civil service, rising prices of rice and famine conditions prevailing in Manipur, the corruption, wastage and non-implementation of plan schemes in various development departments and the Naga trouble in Manipur borders.²⁹ But, in inspite of the strong movement and its demands, the Chief Commissioner's administration and that of the Central government did not take up any proper measures. Instead, the government sent out more police and para-military forces to control the movement. Thus, the movement gave a widespread anti-Congress feeling to the general public and it later on constructed a basis for sub-nationalism.

The wave of anti-congress government increased in 1965. There was a big strike for scarcity of rice in Manipur. On 27th August 1975 a mamooth gathering including students and

28. Ibid., January 31, 1983, p.24.

29. Y., Joy Kumar Singh, Why Responsible Government For Manipur, Imphal, 1960, p.5.

women gathered in and around the bungalow of the Chief Commissioner and they demanded for banning the exportation of rice and distribution of the same in low prices. To control over the mass-movement the police opened fire and it resulted killing of three students besides others and many other injured.

Shortly, some youth organisations, such as the "Pan Manipuri Youth League", the "Macha Leima" (a women organisation), etc. were established. The Pan Manipuri Youth League, in its one of the esteemed monthly magazine, the "Lamyamba" (the Pioneer), disclosed all the weaknesses of the Congress Government in the State.

In 1967 there were a great issue for "Statehood"³⁰ in Manipur. The people demanded for a full-fledged "State-hood" having a separate governor, High Court, etc. Inside the Assembly also the issue was the most vocal point. The opposition group argued that Manipur is bigger in area and population than that of Nagaland, and so Manipur was worthy to become a full-fledged State. But the then M. Koireng Ministry was reluctant to the opposition's proposal on the plea that Manipur needed many pre-requisites for attaining a full-fledged Statehood.

From the issue of the State problems, specially on the "food problem", there was a rift inside the Congress. Yumnam Yaima Singh, one of the senior most Congressmen, charged the Koireng Ministry for incapability of a good administration.³¹ The rift became wider when Y. Yaima Singh was not given party ticket in the 4th General Elections (1967).³² Shortly, many senior

30. Manipur attained Statehood on 21st July, 1972. Before that it was a Union Territory.

31. There were a hot debate in the Assembly in its sittings, 1965 to 1968. Please see the Proceedings of the Manipur Assembly from 1965 to 1968.

32. The Gokul Singh, Defection in Manipur : 1963-1977, Imphal, 1978, pp. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 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members, worth-mentioning of them were S.Tombi Singh, Kh.Chaoba Singh, Md. Alimuddin, Shri S. Gandhir Singh, Ch. Rajmohan Singh, Shri S. Larho, Shri L. Thambou Singh and Md. Ashraf Ali, were expelled from the Congress Party.

Following the mass expulsion from the Congress Party, some of the ex-congressmen, namely Y. Yaima Singh, S. Tombi Singh, Kh. Chaoba Singh and Md. Alimuddin, formed the Manipur Peoples' Party on 26 December, 1968.³³ The establishment of the party was formally announced at a public meeting held on 27 January, 1969 at the Aryan Hall, Imphal. Before making its final party constitution and the organisational set-up, the party fought in the 1971 Lok Sabha Election. Shri Salam Tombi Singh was sent as its party candidate in the election.

On May 8, 1971, a Conference of the party held at the residence of Shri Sinam Krishnamohan Singh, M.P., passed the party constitution. It also elected Shri S. Krishnamohan Singh as the President, Shri S. Tombi Singh the Vice-President, L. Jugeswar Singh and Y. Yaima Singh the General Secretaries and L. Thambou Singh the treasurer of the Party.

On July 13, 1971, according to the strength of votes obtained by the M.P.P. in the 1971 Lok Sabha Election, the Election Commission of India issued the "Bi-cycle" as the reserved symbol of the Manipur Peoples' Party.³⁴

Just a few months before the 1977 General elections, most of the prominent leaders of the M.P.P. tried to merge the party

33. Interview with S. Tombi Singh at his residence on 27-7-83.

34. Vide Election Commission of India Memo No.56/7/-XIII, Dt. 13-7-71 as published in the Extra-Ordinary Gazettee of India dated 13th July, 1971.

with the newly formed Janata Party. But a small group of the party under the leadership of L. Manaobi Singh, fight against the merger. After a serious struggle, the L. Manaobi Singh group could save the party from the merger. Thus, since then the Manipur Peoples' Party has been in existence with Shri L. Manaobi Singh as its present President.

CHAPTER-III

PARTY PROGRAMME AND IDEOLOGY

Introduction :

Today in India "State autonomy" is the most common political slogan of the regional parties. All of them want decentralisation of powers. At first, the regional parties started with great promises of developmental plans in the State. Sometimes they expressed their interest as "anti-Hindi" or protection of their regional language, or anti-Brahmin. Some other regional parties expressed the grievances of their States due to the 'suppressive rule of the Centre or the Congress Party. In other times, the party posed as a separatist or some of the elements of the States staged themselves as extremists. In fact, all the expressions or demands are basically based on one's individual (State) interest. The protection of State identity or of a particular community is almost not more than a regional feeling or 'sub-nationalism'. Their view or outlook is the union of the diversities and preservation of the union on the cost of the diversities.

The regional parties believe in the existence of the Central Government. The separatist attitude, the anti-Hindi or anti-North by the South, etc. are nothing more than a political strategy of bargaining. The strong communal nature of a particular party in the beginning is just the technique of overthrow of the dominant group. This will be true to the existence of the Muslim Conference in Jammu and Kashmir State in 1932, the Akali Dal in the beginning and the anti-Brahmin attitude of the DMK in its inception. But after sometime, either may be due to their firm footedness or any other reasons, they realised the defect and tried to be a more secular party.

Since the basic difference between the regional party and the national party is only in the question of regional or national interest, it is not surprising when the regional parties believe in Socialism, democracy, etc. which are the basic ideologies of the national parties. The regional parties believe in nationalisation of private big enterprises, of banks, and distribution of basic needs by the State. They also believe in the distribution of agricultural land to the tiller, special provisions for Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe and Backward Classes, free education at least upto high school level, proper care for drinking water, electricity and housing schemes, etc. Thus, due to the gradual liberalization of their conservative interest and that of the similarity and closer of their ideologies with those of the national parties, many regional parties merged with the national parties, or they have many electoral alliances with the latter.

The factionalism or defection of the members of the regional parties are largely based on personal or individual interests. In many cases, it is due to the leadership crises. Inside the party many factions are formed, they (factions) try to identify themselves as the true party and their ideologies are not different from one to other. Since they have no sharp difference in ideology, many times each faction try to revive the past history of the party and try to concentrate directly the ideology that the founding father of the party had at first taken.

The National Conference : The policy and programme of the National Conference is believed to be influenced by the Communist Party of India. With the adoption of a "socialistic pattern of society" in 1944 in its "New Kashmir" manifesto, the National Conference laid

down a plan for "an all-sided advance" covering agriculture, industry, transport, distribution, utility services, currency and finance. Not only in theory, the most practical effort that the National Conference had taken up after the release of its the "New Kashmir" manifesto was the land reforms measures in the State. Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah announced drastic and sweeping land reform in a speech from the National Conference platform.¹ Under the report of a "Land Reforms Committee", the landlord was allowed to keep only " 182 Kanals " (22.75 acres). The expropriated land was distributed to the tenants to the maximum of 160 kanals (20 acres) and other excess lands were distributed among the landless tillers or for collective farming.

In the educational field also the Sheikh Abdullah government took up a "revolutionary step", It adopted the mother tongue of the boys as the medium of instruction in the Primary Schools.² The government also established many schools, including arts, sciences and practical lessons in handicrafts were taken up.

In its 31-points programme published in the 1983 elections manifesto, the National Conference Promises to insure safeguard the unity of the State, reformation of the electoral laws, universalisation of elementary education, improvement of sanitation, abolition of dowry system, development of the regional language and cultures, improvement of irrigation, development of industry (large & small) development of fruit industry and Tourism.

1. Bamjai, P.N.K., A History of Kashmir, Metropolitan Book Co. Pvt. Ltd. New Delhi, 1973, p. 788.
2. Ibid., p. 789.

The party believes in the "democratic principle of responsible government" starting from the village level to the national level. It tries to achieve secularism, socialism and democracy. Thus, it fought against the autocratic rule of the ^{the} Maharaja and installment of representative government. For the achievement of communal harmony, the party changed its name and objectives. It had supported the Indian National Congress in the freedom movement. "On the whole, the National Conference Party's own ideology was never sharply differentiated from that of the Congress."³

The Akali Dal : The Akali Dal started as a purely political organisation to safeguard the sikh interest. Like other regional parties in India, it also firmly believes in the regional autonomy. It demanded for a true federal government in India.⁴ Its economic policy is based on "dignity of labour, an economic and social structure which provides for the uplift of the poor and depressed sections of society, and unabated opposition to concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the capitalists."⁵

In its 1977 general elections manifesto, the Akali Dal made programmes on industrialisation of the country, establishment of public sector industries for regional balance, plans for agro-industries in the rural areas, effort for 'Punjabi' to be the second language in Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, U.P., Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir, removal of family planning, etc. It also made

3. Singh Balbir, The Working of the Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, 1967-1972 (a Ph.D. Thesis), University of Jammu, Jammu 1973, p. 120.
4. Resolution No.1 of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution, 28-29 Oct., 1978 as passed by the 18th All India Akali Conference held at Ludhiana
5. Ibid., Resolution No.3.

efforts for the irradication of unemployment, upliftment of the economically weaker sections, etc.

The 1980 elections manifesto of the party emphasised and renewed the desire of the Akali Dal's "State autonomy" demand. It also wanted to appoint an autonomous commission for settling inter-state disputes and promoting long term projects. The party also stands for equitable distribution of wealth by taxing the rich, uniformity in the prices of agricultural commodities and industrial raw materials, elimination of exploitation by private trade of the growers of commercial crops, diversification of agricultural, plugging of loopholes in land reform laws, speedy industrialisation of the State, emphasise an heavy industry and the public sector, grant of ownerships right to the landless people and full employment within a period of ten years. The party also makes provisions for defending the rights of the scheduled caste and tribes, and other minority groups.

The Akali Dal believes in peaceful means for the fulfilment of political demands. Its main method of political demand are "morcha", "rasta roko", processions, etc. The secularism, democracy and socialism that accepted by the Akali Dal are expressed from that of Shri Guru Nanak Dev and Shri Guru Gobind Singh ji.⁶ The party also claims that the way of life should be based upon doing honest labour, sharing the fruits of their labour, and miditation on the "Lord's Name". It hopes with great aspirations of the "Sikh Nation" and believes in "Human Co-existence, Human progress and ultimate unity of all Human beings with the spiritual soul".⁷

6. Ibid.

7. The Basic Postulates of the Shirmoni Akali Dal as adopted by its Working Committee meeting held at Shri Anandpur Sahib on 16-17 Oct. 1973.

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam : While comparing the Dravida Kazhagam with the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), the latter has a moderate outlook, yet the latter possesses the feeling of anti-Hindi.

In the 1957 elections manifesto the DMK demanded for a confederation in India, nationalisation of industries, development of industries, irrigation and hydro-electric projects in the South, uniform scales for employees of the Central and State governments, sending of only Tamil diplomats in the countries (like Ceylon, Malaya, etc.) where many Tamil people settled, cutting down the defence expenditure, to provide housing and medical facilities to the working class, plans for development of handloom industries, etc.

In its 1962 general elections manifesto the DMK declared to create a "Dravidian Socialist Federation."⁸ It called for a socialist economy based on direct taxation and nationalisation of banks, big commercial chains, cinema theatres and transport. It also promised for industrial developments, distribution of land to Harijan family. In 1977 elections manifesto the DMK put many questions before the public. The questions included the choice between a single-party dominance and possibility of other parties in power, between judiciary to be freed or fettered, between a discipline democracy or suicide of the latter, etc. It also demanded for State-autonomy.

The economic programme of the DMK in 1967 included land for tiller, exemption of land revenue for those having less than five acres of land, provision for insurance protection in agriculture, cattle and fishing. It also included big projects for the transports, the steel plant at Saleem, the hydro-electric station at Hogenukal,

8. Backgrounders, Vol. IV (No.45), pp. 10-11.

the thermo-electric plant at Juticorin, the nuclear plant at Kalpakkam, the Satusamudram project, the East Cost Highway, etc.

After holding power after the 1967 Assembly elections, the DMK government gave much attention to agricultural development. The DMK budget included 10 crores and 1.75 crores for the Ennore and Basin Bridge Thermal Plants respectively, and 3.1 crores and 3.8 crores for the Parambikulam and the Kodaya hydro-electric plants respectively.⁹

The DMK under the leadership of Annadurai had a synthesis of principles of Tamil Nationalism, Self-Respect and Social reforms, the parliamentary path, rationalism, democracy, socialism and State autonomy. Under the leadership of M.G. Rammachandran, the party (AIA DMK) holds the "Annanism in toto".¹⁰

The Telugu Desham : The Telugu Desham, though it is one of the latest regional parties in India, does not have any difference in the nature of policy and programme from other regional parties. The new party emphasises in protecting Telugu culture, language and tradition. It demanded for 'regional autonomy'.

Its leader, N.T. Rama Rao made many promises including a "corruption free government", union of the Telugu speaking people, etc.¹¹ It also promises to achieve the 'Ram Rajya' in the State.

9. Spratt, P., DMK in Power, Nachiketa Publications Ltd. Bombay, 1970, pp. 114-119.
10. "Regional Parties of Tamil Nadu : A Case Study of A.I.A.D.M.K.", a paper presented at the 42nd All India Political Science Conference, 15-18 May, 1983, Hyderabad, p.7.
11. India Today, April 16-30, 1982, p.55.

As a part of his economic programme he (NTR) promises to supply rice at Rs. 2/- a Kilo and give free mid-day meals to primary school children.¹²

On the Oath taking day of his Chief Ministership, N.T. Rama Rao issued a "ten-point commandments", to his cabinet.¹³ It includes keeping a close touch with the people, non-interference in appointment and transfer of officials, rooted out corruption and keeping a smooth administration, to up-lift the poor and backward peoples, etc.

The Telugu Desham does not allow to come any defector.¹⁴

The Manipur Peoples' Party : The Manipur Peoples' Party, like other regional parties, bases on the (Manipur) sub-nationalism. In its elections manifestos (1972, 1974 and 1980), the party brought out the issues like the development of industries, inclusion of the Manipuri Language in the Eight Schedule of the Indian Constitution, restoration of the "Kavo Valley"¹⁵ etc. The party condemned severly the "Special Power Act of 1953" enforceable in Manipur; under the provision of the Act the government may use regular army at any movement. It also accused the old politicians and leaders of Manipur for lifting out of the "inner line pass-port" system.

In its 1974 elections manifesto, the party made programme like establishment of cement factory, paper factory, insulated paper factory, sugar factory, electronic and watch industries, drug

12. Ibid., January 15, 1983, p. 25.

13. Illustrated Weekly of India, January 30, Feb. 5, 1983, p. 9.

14. Ibid., Feb. 20-26, 1983, p. 12.

15. The "Kavo Valley" was a part of Manipur Territory before Independence. It had been given to Burma by Nehru after Independence.

laboratories, plastic factories, tea plantation and rubber industry, and other agricultural development, etc. In the field of education it promises to establish a full-fledged university, standardisation of the medical college and sending out research scholars outside the State. The party also demanded for a separate high court, a Governor, separate bar council, and provisions for special Central Grant and loans to Manipuri. Other important promises of the party were upliftment of the standard of the village way of life, provision for electricity in the villages, revision of the pay for government employees, release of the political prisoners, construction of rail line upto the Manipur Valley, establishment of Manipur Regiment, etc.

The objective of the party, as contained in the Preamble of its constitution, is "to establish by democratic and peaceful means an agalitarian society based on democratic socialism."

CHAPTER-IV

SUPPORT BASE AND DURABILITY

Sometimes, the regional parties are coming out as a result of sub-regional or sub-cleaves elements in the State. In such cases the support base of the parties are cut across into various forms. There will be a separate party for a different sub-region or sub-cleave. But, in long run, the more the secular and democratic is the more broad base and durability.

The National Conference : In the beginning the popularity of the National Conference was less due to its communal name, the Muslim Conference. Only the Muslim population of the State, specially of the Kashmir region, were attractive to the party. Due to the sub-regional nature of the State, they could not get support from the Hindu dominated Jammu. But the Ladakh region was always a flying voter, partly due to its geo-political situation and partly that of its small population.

After 1939, since the changing of the party name and outlook, the National Conference became more secular party. The Hindu population of the State also started entering into the party. But, the support of and attraction to the party from other regions, specially Jammu, was not upto the expectation. Still there is communal enmity and fearness between the two big regions. As a result of that enmity and fearness, the one party that is supported by one region is not supported by the other region and vice versa.

Inspite of the disagreement between the two regions, the National Conference could gain its superiority in the State politics. Some important reasons of its superiority are its charismatic leadership, good and attractive political programme and policies efficient and strong party organisation, weak opposition

and nature of state electoral performances.¹

In 1964 the National Conference merged with the Indian National Congress and as a result of it, the party lost its name from the state politics. But the party suddenly come up in the 1977 general elections under its vaterin leader, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. It could regain its lost superiority in the State politics by capturing majority seats in the 1977 and 1983 elections.

The Akali Dal : The Akali Dal gets its main support from the Jat-Sikh peasantry of rural Punjab.² The Scheduled Castes, particularly the Sikhs, support the party. The Malwa region of Punjab is the heart of 'Akali Politics'.³ Besides the rural peasantry, the party also gets support from some sections of the Christians. But the party cannot get support from ^{all} the Sikhs in the State. Due to its too much 'Sikhism' nature the Party can not get much support from the Hindu population of the State.

But the Akali Dal is one of the oldest regional parties in India. Though it can not get the dominant status like the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir, the Akali Dal could form ministries (either coalition or United Front) in 1967, 1969 and 1977 in the State.

The D.M.K : The D.M.K. started from a predominantly urban and lower middle class base and it spreaded into other groups. In the

1. Singh, Balbir, State Politics in India, MacMillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 1982, p. 56.
2. Singh, Dr. Dalip, Dynamics of Punjab Politics, MacMillan India Ltd., New Delhi, 1981, pp. 75-76.
3. Ibid., p. 195.

beginning the party was mainly for the non-Brahmins only. Its anti-Brahmin nature could not be attractive to the Brahmins. But, later on the party was secularised, it admitted some of the Brahmins to the party.

Now the D.M.K. is a highly organised party, with a unit in nearly every village, and claiming half a million members.⁴

The Telugu Desham : The main support base of the Telugu Desham Party is the Kamma Community which particularly controls the film industry.⁵ Due to the long screen performance of its leader, NTR, who many times acted the roles of 'Rama' and 'Krishna', the party gets support from those devotees of Lord 'Rama and 'Krishna'. In the elections campaigns of the party, specially the speech of NTR, there were huge women listeners.⁶

The Party's durability is concerned, the party is coming up very recently. It got unexpectedly a large majority in the last elections. But no one can predict about its future.

The Manipur Peoples' Party : The Manipur Peoples' Party, though it is the most popular regional party in Manipur, is not attractive to the hill areas of the State. In the beginning, it largely got support from both rural and urban population. The women of the valley, specially those who are in the market business in Imphal expressed their support to the party.

4. Spratt, P., D.M.K. in Power, Nachiketa Publications Ltd., Bombay, 1970, pp. 38-39.

5. The Times of India, 10.3.1982, p.8.

6. India Today, January 31, 1983, p. 22.

The strength of the party decreased due to defections of the party members since July 1974. The most unfortunate period of the party was in 1977, when most of the founding leaders of the party tried to merge the party with the newly formed Janata Party. After a great fight, a few party members could save the party from the merger.

Now the party is very weak. It is trying to regain its strength and popularity.

CHAPTER-V

ELECTORAL PERFORMANCES

One of the most common phenomenon in Indian electoral system is that many parties are coming up in the time of elections and they disappear just after the elections. This is very oftenly happened in the case of the regional parties. In a State there are many different regional parties. They come out only in the time of elections and have gone just after the elections. Even the name of the party cannot be heard.

Another very common phenomena of the system is that many of the regional parties cannot exist in the active politics for a longer time. Many times the smaller and weaker party merge with the other bigger one.

The electoral performances of the political parties are different from time to time, from Centre to States and from State to State. In the national level, though the Congress is having the dominant position, the major contestants are the national parties like the C.P.I., the Socialist Party or the Janata Party. But in the State level the main contenders are one regional party of that State and one or two national parties.

Campaign and Issues :

The National Conference : One unique electoral phenomena in the State of Jammu and Kashmir is the massive unopposed return of candidates. Large number of ruling party candidates in each elections returned without any contest. Many complains, therefore, were lodged by the opposition parties protesting that the ruling party manipulated and riggged the elections. The clashing and

fighting during the time of elections is very common.

In the 1951 "Constituent-cum-Legislative Assembly" elections, a large number of nomination papers of the Praja Parishad were rejected. The Praja Parishad, dissatisfied with the mass rejection of its candidates' nomination papers, boycotted the elections. The experience of the rejection of the nomination papers and a large number of uncontested members return became a long standing tradition of the State electoral system.

The 1957 Assembly elections brought almost similar performance with that of the 1951 election. As a part of the elections campaign, the National Conference claimed that its previous government brought strength and stability to the State after the Pakistani raiders' attack in 1947.¹

The National Conference, in its election manifesto (1957) expressed the importance for national integration; it promised for economic development, establishment of industries, improvement of transport and communications and extension of educational facilities. The manifesto also promised to extend helps to those Kashmiris living on the Pakistani side of the cease-fire line.²

The State Legislative Assembly elections of 1962 and 1967 were held under the supervision of the Election Commission of

1. Lal, Shiv, ^(ed.) Elections to India's State Legislatures Since 1952, The Election Archives, New Delhi, 1978, p. (K) 7.

2. Ibid. p.8.

India. But, the rejection of large numbers of nomination papers of the opposition candidates was still in existence. In the 1962 elections, the National Conference got 70 out of the 75 seats, of which 32 were unopposed return.

Since the merger of the major faction of the National Conference led by G.M. Sadiq with the Congress, the National Conference (the Bakshi faction) could capture only 8 (eight) seats in the 1967 Assembly elections. The Congress got 61 seats, out of which 22 were unopposed returns.

One improving situation in the 1972 elections was the reduction of the number of uncontested candidates. This time the number of the uncontested candidates was 5 only.

The general elections held in 1977 were so far the most fair and free elections in the State.³ There were three important reasons for its fair and free. First, there were no official patronage party; the elections were held under the strict supervision of the Governor, since the Abdullah Ministry was dissolved earlier; second, there were a good competition among the National Conference, the Congress and the Janata; and last, there were no unopposed seat. In fact, the elections bring⁴ new trend to the electoral system in the State.

In the speeches before the 1977 elections, Sheikh Abdullah threatened that "Kashmir would secede from India if the State was not given a position of honour and dignity."⁴

3. Singh, Balbir, State Politics in India, Manohar Lal Khan, New Delhi, 1982, pp. 67-68.

4. The Statesman, 24-5-1977, p.1.

Later on, Sheikh Abdullah could not participate much of his party's campaign and other electoral activities due to illness. But the public feeled sympathy to the illing leader and so to his party too.

The Assembly elections of the June 1983 were mainly contested between the Congress (I) and the National Conference. Some months before the elections, there was a rumour that the Congress and the National Conference would undergo an electoral alliance. But, later on that was not held. The contest was of different shades. The Bharatiya Janata Party, the Communist Party, the Lok Dal were the other national parties besides the Congress contested in the elections. The other regional parties besides the National Conference were the Praja Parishad, the Panther Party and the Jama-i-Islami.

All the 76 constituencies were contested. Total number of electorates were 31, 37, 695 and the total number of valid votes polled were 21,97,121.⁵ There was a case of manipulating the booths in Doda and Badgam constituencies. The Badgam constituency had a re-poll but that of Doda seat had been cancelled.

The Akali Dal : The Akali Dal's most vocal electoral issue during the first decade (1952 to 1962) was centred round the creation of a 'Punjabi Sabha' or a Punjabi speaking State. The party demanded for a separate Punjabi-Speaking State.

5. Elections Result Sheet of the Jammu & Kash
Assembly Election, 1983.

In February 1956, the Akali Dal had been merged with the Congress following a negotiation between the Akali Chief Master Tara Singh and the Prime Minister Nehru. Thus, in the 1957 elections the Akali Dal fought as an ally of the Congress.

But in 1962 elections, the Akali Dal emerged independently. The party strongly stood for the 'Punjabi Sabha' and the party asked the other opposition parties to join hands to achieve its goal.

The electorate balance in Punjab was reversed following the state reorganisation in 1966. As a result of the reorganisation, a separate Punjabi-speaking State and another State, Haryana and Union Territory of Chandigarh were created, and some remaining hilly areas were merged with Himachal Pradesh.⁶ In the elections of 1967, the Akali Dal (Sant group) tried to unite all the opposition parties and to fight against the Congress. The party claimed that all the opposition should be united and formed a "United Front Ministry" after the elections.

Just before the mid-term elections of 1969, the two factions of the Akali Dal (the Sant Fateh Singh and the Master Tahah Singh groups) were re-united and it made an electoral alliance with the Jan Sangh. The alliance demanded for communal harmony, clean and efficient administration, betterment of the ex-servicemen, improvement of the service conditions and to take immediate measures for inclusion of Chandigarh and other Punjabi-speaking areas into Punjab.

6. Lal, Shiv, Op.cit., p. (Punjab) 8.

The disagreement between the Akali Dal and the Jan Sangh on the affiliation of some 'Arya Samaj' educational institutions to the Guru Nanak Dev University led to the split of the Dal- Jan Sangh Coalition.⁷ Thus in the 1972 Assembly elections, the Akali Dal contested alone.

The Akalis had continued their 'satyagraha' during the emergency and volunteers from areas near Amritsar had ^{been} courted arrest. After their release most opposition leaders, particularly Akalis, had been going round talking about the injustice done to them.

In the 1977 elections, the Akali Dal brought down its members from the Parliament and put them in the Assembly poll contests. The most hottest issue of the Akali Dal's Campain in the elections was the excessive actions of the Congress Ministry during the emergency period. The election manifesto of the party mainly focussed on solving the unemployment problem, better administration, cheap and easier availability of fertilizers and seeds, etc.

In the 1980 Assembly elections, the Akali Dal made electoral alliance with the Communist Party.

In the Akali Dal 1979-80 Lok Sabha elections ^{manifesto},⁸ the party claimed for establishment of a socialist society. It also demanded for the protection of the religious, social, economic and political interests of the Sikhs. The party also expressed the desire for State autonomy, appointment of an autonomous commission for

7. Ibid., p. 11.

8. Singh, Dalip, op.cit., p. 194.

settling inter-state disputes, uniformity in the prices of agricultural commodities and industrial raw materials, measures for agricultural development, industrialisation of the State, ownership right to the landless people, etc. The party also committed to defend the rights of the Scheduled Caste and Tribes and other minority communities.

The D.M.K. : The D.M.K. did not contest in the 1952 Madras Legislative Assembly elections. It just supported the independent candidates and other two opposition parties, the "Tamilnad Toilers Party" and the "Commonwealth Party". The party contested in the Assembly elections of 1957, 1962, 1967, 1971, 1977 and 1980.

The DMK took decision to fight in the elections of 1957 and it published its elections manifesto at its Trichi Conference in 1956.⁹ In its elections manifesto the party demanded for a confederation in India, nationalisation of industries, development for industries, irrigation and hydro-electrical projects in the South, uniform wage scales for employees of the Central and State Governments, etc.

In the 1959 Madras City Corporation election, the DMK could capture 45 seats of the total 100, and it showed the increasing strength of the party.

In the 1962 and 1967 Assembly elections, the DMK fought alone. In the 1962 elections, the party demanded for creating a "Dravidian Socialist Federation."¹⁰ In the 1967 elections, the party claimed to stand for the most backward communities from whom

9. Backgrounders (UNI), Vol. IV (No.45), p.9.

10. Ibid., p. 15.

its cadres spring.¹¹ In the elections, the DMK's style of campaign was purely on anti-Kamaraj nature.

In the 1971 elections, there was a new scene in Tamil Nadu. The elections contest was entered between two forceful United Fronts : One was led by the DMK and it consisted of the Congress(R), the PSP, the Muslim League, the Forward Block, the CPI and two small Tamil nationalist parties- the "Tamil Arasu Kazhagan" and the "We Tamils", and other Front was led by the Congress(O) and it included the Swatantra and the SSP.¹² In its elections manifesto (1971), the DMK demanded for better facilities to the poor, attainment of social justice and materialisation of socialism into practice. It also stood for State autonomy and development of Tamil Language.

Since the following of the intra-party factionalism, the DMK faced a serious problem in the Organisation and it reduced to a small party. The major faction of the party, under the leadership of Mr. M.G. Ramachandran, went out of the party and formed the AIADMK. Only a small faction under the leadership of Mr. M. Karunanidhi remained as the DMK.

Since the AIADMK now emerged as the strongest party, every party started to attack against the AIADMK. The DMK claimed (in the 1977 elections) that the AIADMK had no principles and policies and it (AIADMK) was sustained only by the glamour of its leader M.G.R.¹³ The Congress-CPI Front and the DMK criticised the

11. Lal, Shiv (ed.), op.cit., P.(Andhra Pradesh) 10.
 12. Weiner, Myron and Field, J.O., Studies in Electoral Politics in the Indian States, Vol. IV, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1975, p.80.
 13. Lal, Shiv, op.cit., p.1.
 (ed.)

MGR's selection of party candidates, on the plea that MGR had given tickets to former DMK members, whom corruption charges were lodged by MGR himself.

In the 1980 Assembly elections, the DMK emerged as a weak party and it made alliance with the congress. In the elections, the AIADMK captured the bulk of the seats.

The Telugu Desham : The Telugu Desham made electoral alliance with the Menaka Gandhi led the "Sanjay Vichar Manch" in the recent 1983 Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections. But the alliance was not, as the NTR has said, due to the less strength of his party but it was due to the sympathy that his party had to Mrs. Menaka's request for making alliance.

The election campaign of the Telugu Desham is almost a new technique. It can be said that the party and the whole electoral strategy was of one man, N.T. Rama Rao with his a few followers loaded a vehicle and the vehicle took them from village to village and from one constituency to another continuously. His party members of a particular area arranged public meetings of that area. In many cases, he could not reached to his meeting places in right scheduled time due to the roadside meetings on his ways. When his vehicle crossed a village, the villagers came out for giving him blessings and it delayed all his meeting schedules.

The Telugu Desham made many promises to the people, including abolition of corruption and unemployment. The party leader NTR promised to supply rice at Rs. 2/- a kilo. It also caught public imagination by appealing the Telugu sentiments.¹⁴

14. India Today, January 31, 1983, p. 25.

The main stronghole of the party in the last elections (1983) was the Coastal region of the State, comprising about 9 (nine) districts. The Party also had stronger position in the Rayalasume region (the South-West Part of the State). In the Telengana region the party got support nearly half of the population.

The Manipur Peoples' Party : The first election fought by the Manipur Peoples' Party was the Assembly elections of 1972. The main issue of the elections was on Manipuri Language. All the political parties, in their elections manifestos, expressed that the Manipur Language should get its "rightful place"¹⁵ in the constitution of India.

The Manipur Peoples' Party, in its 1972 elections manifesto, says that it will bring a socialist society where exploitation and suppression will not exist. Thus, the manifesto further says that as a first step of the socialist society the party will take up action in Urban property ceiling, land reforms, a separate High Court and Governor, abolition of corruption, special planning sells for the backward peoples (both Hills and plain), electrification of the villages storing of sufficient paddy for the State, development for Manipuri handlooms and its products, drinking water supply schemes, housing schemes, road and transports, development and standardisation of the education system, health and sanitations, proper guidance and bringing out the underground youths into the overground, complete State control over Oil companies,

15. Manipuri Language can not be included in the VIIIth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The people of Manipur think that the Manipuri Language is a very developed one. So, the people think that it should be included in the VIIIth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, and it is the right place.

establishment of small and medium industries, increase of agricultural products, separate service cadre for Manipur State and town plannings.

In the 1974 (mid-term) elections manifesto of the MPP, the party says that it will fulfil the uncompleted works of its former government.¹⁶ Thus, the programmes put in the 1974 elections manifesto of the party is almost similar with that of its 1972 elections manifesto. A very few additions are the establishment of a Geological Department in the State, a Manipur Regiment and the construction of rail-line upto the Manipur Valley.

Throughout its campaign, meetings and other elections papers, the MPP elaborated and explained the works and progress done by its previous government.

In the 1974 elections, the M.P.P. made an electoral alliance with the Hills People's Union (a hills regional party in Manipur). The coalition was a token of combining the hills and plain- the Hills People's Union representing the Hills people and the Manipur Peoples' Party the plain people.

The HPU wanted the hill areas brought under a separate administration with special powers.¹⁷ But the two parties (MPP & HPU) agreed commonly on the development plans and priorities with

16. After the 1972 elections the MPP with S.S.P(3), Congress-0(1) and 13 Independents formed the U.L.P. Ministry headed by Md. Alimuddin, the leader of the M.P.P. Legislature Party. During its Ministry, the U.L.P. Government established a medical college, a University Centre, the M.P.S.C., Manipur Higher Secondary Board, proposal for Loktak Hydro-Electric Projects, etc. But the U.L.P. Ministry resigned shortly on 28th March 1973 as a result of defection of the U.L.P. members. Thus, the U.L.P. Ministry could not complete all its programme.

17. Lal, Shiv (ed.), op.cit., p.(Manipur) 1.

emphasise on tribal and land settlement, roads, job-oriented education and a need based wage.¹⁸

The intra-party factionalism and inter-party defection during 1973-1975 in the State gave a serious blow to the Manipur Peoples' Party. Most of the founder and important leaders of the party defected and joined to other national parties. As a result of this factionalism and defections, the MPP remained as a small and weak regional party. After a hard and slow organisation the party could contest in the 1980 General elections. But the popularity and strength that the party could gain in the previous years could not be maintained.

During the time of 1980 elections in Manipur, there were some assassination attempts to the party candidates by unidentified persons. Many innominate letters were sent to some of the candidates and they were asked not to contest the elections. These abnormal situations gave a big hindrance to the true working of the democracy.

The party candidates, therefore, could not have active participation in their election campaigns and public meetings. Instead, the candidates gave routine-wise public speeches through the radio. The volunteers of the parties organised mass relays in the main markets and other areas of the respective constituencies to show their strength.

Results :

The National Conference : The National Conference got all 75 seats, of which 73 party candidates were uncontested, in the State

18. Ibid.

constituent-cum-Legislative Assembly elections. In the 1957 elections, the National Conference won 68 seats. The remaining seats were distributed among the Praja Parishad, Harijan Mandal and Independent at the rate of 5, 1 and 1 respectively. The National Conference could capture 70 seats in the 1962 general elections, The remaining five seats were captured by the Praja Parishad- 3 seats, and the Independents-2 seats.

But the National Conference reduced its strength in the 1967 General elections. It could capture only 8 seats out of the 75 total seats. The bulk of the seats were captured by the Congress (61 seats). The Jan Sangh and Independent candidates got 3 seats each. In the 1972 elections, since the party had been merged with the Congress, the National Conference did not participate in the elections. In the elections the Congress got 58 seats, Jan Sangh 3, Jame-i-Islami 5 and Independent candidates 10.

In 1977 elections, the National Conference re-emerged. The party contested and captured 47 seats ; 39 from the valley, 7 from the Jammu region and 1 from the Ladakh region. Again in the 1983 election, the party could capture 47 seats.

Comparatively of all the preceding elections in the State, the National Conference got a good majority with an average of 52.5% of the total number of the elections participated.

The Akali Dal : The Akali Dal participated in the elections of 1952, 1962, 1967, 1969, 1972, 1977 and 1980 in the State. In 1952 Assembly elections, the Dal got 33 seats with a percent of 14.7 of the total strength of the House. The party did not participate in the 1957 elections. It contested in 1962 elections and captured

19 out of the total 154 seats. In the 1967 Assembly election the party was split into the Akali Dal (Sant) and the Akali Dal (Master). The two factions fought the elections separately. The Sant group contested 58 seats whereas the Master group contested 62 seats. But, though the number of contestants of the Master group was greater than that of the Sant group, the Sant Akali Dal got 24 seats, whereas the Master Akali Dal got 2 only.

In the Assembly elections of 1969 the Akali Dal contested 65 seats and won 43. Now the Akali Dal became the single larger party in the Assembly. The second place was taken by the Congress with 38 seats. But the strength of the Akali Dal reduced in the 1972 Assembly elections. It contested in 72 constituencies and could capture only 24 seats.

The 1977 Assembly elections was a sudden change in the electoral performance of Punjab. The Akali Dal got a fine majority with 58 seats out of the total 117 seats. The balance of the seats, however, reversed in the 1980 Assembly election. In the elections, the Akali Dal got only 37 seats whereas the Congress got 63 seats.

The D.M.K : The DMK fought elections as the first time in the Madras State Legislative Assembly elections, 1957. It contested 117 seats of the total 205 and won 13. In 1962, the party could improve by capturing 50 seats out of the total 206. In 1967 and 1971, the party captured 138 and 134 seats respectively and formed the governments in the State.

But due to party factionalism, the DMK reduced its

strength in the 1977 and 1980 elections. The popular support went to the AIADMK of M.G. Ramachandran. The DMK got only 48 and 38 in 1977 and 1980 respectively.

The Telugu Desham : The newly formed Telugu Desham fought as first time in the last Andhra Pradesh Assembly elections, 1983. The party contested 237 seats and captured 202 seats including 4 seats of the Sanjay Vichar Manch. The per cent of seats of the party in the Assembly is 68.70.

The M.P.P : The Manipur Peoples' Party contested in the 1972, 1974 and 1980 Assembly elections. In the 1972 elections, the party contested in 42 constituencies and it could capture 15 seats. The Congress (R) won 17, C.P.I-5, SSP-3, Congress (O)-1, NIC-3 and Independents 16 seats. The position of the MPP in the Assembly is the second largest party.

In the 1974 Assembly (mid-term) elections, the M.P.P. could increase its strength. It contested 40 seats and won 20. The percent of seats that the MPP won in the Assembly was 33.33%. Now the M.P.P. emerged as the largest party in the Assembly.

But the 1980 elections result showed a serious down fall of the M.P.P. It contested in 39 constituencies and won only 3 seats. The main reason of its downfall was the party factionalism and defections.

Regional Parties in Lok Sabha :

TABLE-I

THE STRENGTH OF CONGRESS & REGIONAL
PARTIES IN LOK SABHA

Party	1952	1957	1962	1967	1971	1977	1980
Congress*	364	371	361	284	350	153	351
Party	74.44%	75.10%	37.08%	54.72%	67.96%	28.28%	66.86%
Regional Parties	33	37	27	49	53	29	43
	6.74%	7.49%	5.47%	9.44%	10.30%	5.35%	8.18%

* The strength of the Congress in each election is counted only the highest faction; i.e. from 1952 to 1967 it is the original INC, in 1971 it is Congress (R), in 1977 it is INC and in 1980 it is Congress(I).

Note : The sources of the Table are based on "Political Parties in India", by Horst Hartman's, Meerut, 1982.

The strength of the Congress and the Regional Parties in the last Lok Sabhas, as shown in the Table-I, goes uniformly. In all the elections, the average strength of the Congress and the regional parties (altogether) are 319.2% and 38.8% respectively.

From 1952 to 1971 the Congress got a clear majority having minimum strength of 284 (54.72%) and maximum of 371 (75.10%) in the House. It lost its superiority in 1977 Lok Sabha elections. But its strength in that elections was still greater than that of the total number of the regional parties- while the Congress got 153 seats, the total strength of the regional parties was only 29. In 1980 elections, the Congress could capture 351 seats out of the total elected seats of 525 in the House.

The strength of each regional party in the Lok Sabha is comparatively very less in all the elections. The largest strength, upto the 1980 Lok Sabha elections, was that of the DMK in 1967; the DMK got 25 seats in the House. Other regional parties like the Akali Dal, Republican Party, Peasants and Workers Party, Hill Leaders Conference, National Conference, Bangla Congress and Jana Kranti Dal in 1967 got an average of 2 seats.

Many of the regional parties can not come up to the Lok Sabha. The Akali Dal, DMK, Lok Sevak Sangh, Peasants and Workers Party, Hill Leaders Conference are some of the regional parties that could come up two or more times in the Lok Sabha. But the existence of the regional parties in the Lok Sabha is not regular.

CONCLUSION

The origin and development of the regional parties are not similar from one regional party to another. Some of them are originated as a result of factionalism or defections, or they are originated with the historical epoch of the State.

Most of the regional parties in India are in favour of the 'State autonomy'. Thus, the regional parties are based on a sub-nationalism. They try to revive the history of the State and always attack to the dominating group. Sometimes, the regional parties express their feelings as separatist or formation of a sub-nation, but at last they come down to State autonomy.

At the beginning the regional parties are very communal or sub-regionalistic or anti-centre. But, after some time, the parties try to make themselves more secular or democratic.

Most of the regional parties can not come up at the National level. In the Lok Sabha, there are many regional parties. But they are not regular and their strengths are very less. A very few regional parties exist regularly.

The regional parties hold power in some States. But the superiority of these parties are very few. In one time, one regional party emerges as very strongly, but its existence and superiority is not certain after a few years. Only a few regional parties like the National Conference, the Akali Dal, the DMK or the AIADMK, are exception to that.

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